NATIONAL GUARDIAN
15 cents
the progressive newsweekly
VOL. 13, NO. 2 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 24, 1960

THE TWENTY-FIVE DAYS

'We must disarm': Why Mr. K tore up the UN pea patch

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

AFTER TWENTY-FIVE DAYS of whirlwind activity inside and outside the United Nations, Soviet Premier Khrushchev flew home on Oct. 13. He seemed to have infuriated the sedate and scandalized the decorous; but he also had infused new life into the UN by forcing vigorous debate on issues traditionally soft-pedalled or obscured by procedural maneuvers.

On Mr. K's last day at the UN, the General Assembly approved his proposal for discussing at the Assembly's plenary session the Soviet resolution calling for "immediate" independence for all colonial and trust territories, and renunciation of leased areas and special rights enjoyed by one country in the territory of another. The Washington-led Western powers had attempted to pass the resolution on to the UN Political Committee; but they retreated hastily when they noted the importance the Afro-Asian members attached to the resolution.

A CANDID ADDRESS: In an eloquent farewell address to the Assembly, Khrushchev with remarkable candor explained why Moscow placed so much importance to the U-2 spy flight; why he laid so much stress on changes in the structure of the UN, and why he so strongly urged discussion in the Assembly's plenary session of the Soviet resolution on disarmament.

On the U-2 flight, he said: "Please understand that we do not raise the ques-

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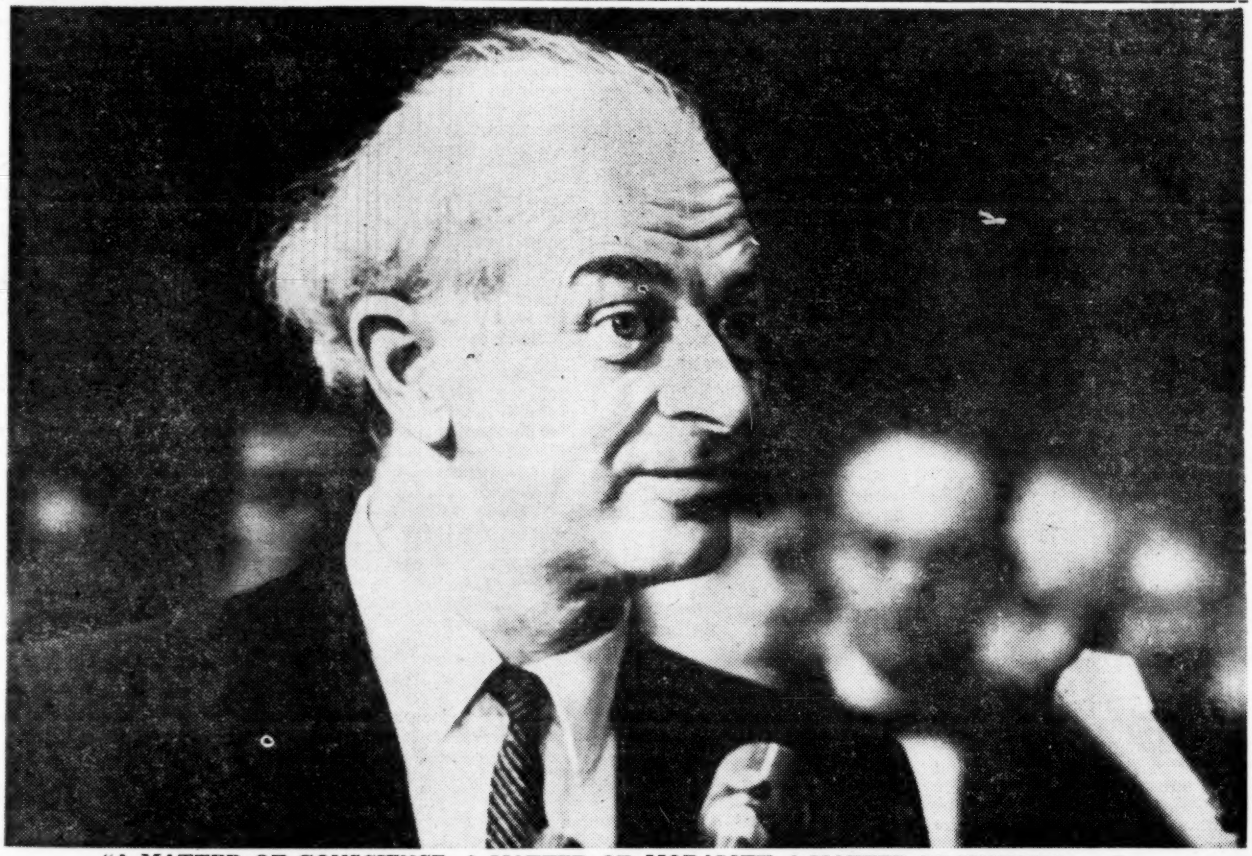

"A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE, A MATTER OF MORALITY, A MATTER OF JUSTICE"
Dr. Linus Pauling as he defied the Senatorial inquisitors in Washington

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NOBEL PRIZE-WINNER WON'T GIVE NAMES

Witch-hunters retreat before Pauling stand

By Robert E. Light

SEN. THOMAS J. DODD'S crusade against the peace movement was blunted Oct. 11 when Dr. Linus Pauling again refused to turn over to the Senate Internal Security subcommittee names of scientists who had helped him circulate an anti-bomb petition in 1957. Although Dodd had threatened Pauling when he first refused to submit the names at a hearing on June 21, the committee made no move to cite the Nobel prize winning chemist for contempt after the latest hearing.

Between the two hearings Pauling made a dogged fight against the committee, which won wide support from respected citizens and newspapers. Dodd's retreat is more a tribute to Pauling's courage and prestige than an indication that he has called off the witch-hunt. In recent weeks the committee has subpenaed 38 persons for questioning on their peace activities. Most are active in the Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy, chief target of Dodd's campaign. He can already count partial victories because his attack on SANE in a Senate speech set off a controversy within the organization which has curtailed its activities (see page 9).

MATTER OF MORALITY: At the June hearing, which was called ostensibly to probe "communist" participation in peace activities, Pauling was questioned on a petition to the UN he prepared and circulated in 1957 calling for international agreements to stop nuclear bomb testing as a first step toward disarmament. The petition was signed by 11,021 scientists in 49 countries. Dodd wanted a list of the petition's signers and the names of the American scientists who had solicited signatures.

Pauling, who had denounced the hear-

(Continued on Page 9)

The seeds of change have been planted at UN

THE SOUND AND THE FURY are gone and the cops have yielded United Nations Plaza once again to the pigeons. Across the nation editorial writers and commentators are congratulating themselves that a defeated Nikita Khrushchev went home without having accomplished his mission. Since most of these same editors neglected to inform their readers what the Premier's mission was in the first place, it is in order to record his stated intentions. In a speech to the General Assembly on Oct. 2, Mr. Khrushchev said:

"On our part we resolutely say that we have come here with the most sincere intentions and are ready to do our best for peace to prevail on earth, and not only peace but friendship among nations. The Soviet government will go on working honestly in this direction, like a sower who works so that man may have a good harvest. He selects the best seeds and throws them into the soil . . . He knows that the shoots that these seeds may yield may meet with droughts, storms and hurricanes. It may so happen that some seeds will simply fall upon stony ground. But the sower cannot stop working . . . Man lives and wants to live! And therefore he works tirelessly so as to guarantee life for the living, a better life for man."

IF MR. KHRUSHCHEV has been defeated, then so has mankind. Week after week the GUARDIAN has reported on the Fifteenth Assembly. It has reported these initiatives by Mr. Khrushchev:

- A reiteration of his urgent request for discussion of the Soviet plan for general and complete disarmament.
- A seat for China.
- Immediate freedom for all nations still under the yoke of colonialism.
- A new summit meeting to discuss the problem of Berlin.
- A UN Secretariat which will reflect a world divided into capitalist, socialist and neutral segments.

This is what happened to these initiatives:

- The disarmament question has been taken up by the neutral nations—and some pro-Western states—as one of their main objectives.
- For the first time in ten years the U.S. found itself on the minority side on a seat for China (43%), as against those favoring a seat and the abstainers (57%).
- The full Assembly will take up the colonial question—a decision to which the U.S. was forced to accede.
- There almost certainly will be a summit on Berlin after the U.S. elections.
- Two neutralist-sponsored plans have been put forward to give equal voice in the Secretariat to all philosophies.

THUS THE SEEDS have been planted. The new states understand what is meant by general and complete disarmament; they have known the bullet and the fire bomb. China will be seated and the colonial states will go free. And people are not going to bleed for Berlin—memories are too long for that.

If tables were pounded and a shoe was removed—as in what parliament have they not been?—it is nothing in the stream of impeccably-phrased insults and double-talk which have been the stock-in-trade of Western diplomacy since the United Nations was founded.

If blunt language and plain speaking are the order of the day—not only by Mr. K but by the neutrals as well—it is no wonder. The world is sick unto dying of the stalemate of the cold war and the status quo which Washington seeks to impose upon the lives of the world's people. For our part we praise the Lord and the realist diplomats—East, West and in-between—who have finally placed on the UN agenda the world as it really exists. They were not the defeated ones.

May the seeds of change bear a bountiful harvest.

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

Woman needed?
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I wish I could see the sense of your damning both Presidential candidates equally.

How can you risk another four years of risking an international suicidal war? We must have the services of the able Democrats such as Stevenson, Bowles and Humphrey.

Maybe you need a woman at the helm, for women are inured to compromise in their families.

Name Withheld

Slap in the face
OAKLAND, CALIF.

As local stickers put it: "Vore 'No' for President," or—the latest one—"Kneither Knorr." A small vote for the Presidency would direct the slap in the face where it belongs without penalizing the American people.

But go to the polls and vote like hell for all good peace candidates!

Hodee Edwards

Tit for tat
CHICAGO, ILL.

I suggest showing up and voting for both! Then what have you? A fine spoiled ballot for a couple of spoiled politicians.

H. J.

Make it count
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

We must make our preferences count on the rolls of paper in the voting machines—and they must provide the paper democratic process calls for. The worst a voter can do (and he must take a pencil into the booth) is to void the ballot through confusion. But a voided ballot is also effective as a determined protest vote.

How do we know our trouble will be worthwhile? Imagine the consternation in the Big Shots' Party and their Company Union Party when the thousands of protests are tallied.

Eugene W. Graham

The end?
NO. SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

The capitalist system is rapidly being wrecked by its proponents and stooges, and the two "darlings" of capitalism, Nixon and Kennedy, are doing their share.

So, hooray for Jack and Dick, one of whom history will use to bury the very system which spawned them!

Theodore E. Stuver

No equivocation
BROOKLYN, N.Y.

What if Kennedy announced that he would appoint Stevenson as Secretary of State? Would the GUARDIAN then really come out for support of Kennedy?

Have you forgotten so soon that in 1948 Truman virtually took over the Progressive platform towards the end of the campaign in order to win the election? And wasn't Eisenhower put forward as the "peace candidate?" Yes, many progressives voted for both these candidates on the basis of these platforms.

Stop equivocating! Call a spade a spade! Let the people know that it is as impossible for the parties of imperialism to work for peace and freedom as it is for the bosses to work for strong trade unions. Their interests are incompatible.

Esther Kusic

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

LONDON, Oct. 8. AP—The Lord's Day Observance Society, which exists to keep the Sabbath pure, denounced Princess Margaret and Anthony Armstrong-Jones today for sucking ice sticks on a Sunday. And what is worse, the society said, they bought ices for young Prince Charles and Princess Anne on this same outing in Windsor Park.

"Some may think this is no great crime," said the society's weekly journal **Joy and Light.** "But where is the example? In which direction are the children being led?"

—**Oakland Tribune,** Oct. 9

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., Oakland, Calif.

SWP clarification
NEW YORK, N.Y.

We have followed with interest the discussion in your columns on "The Voter's Dilemma." We hope that the horns are seized in sufficient time so that readers of the GUARDIAN can play an effective role in getting out a protest vote against the promises of the Republican and Democratic candidates to plunge us into war over the Pescadores or Quemoy and Matsu.

To vote for the Socialist Workers Party is a way of protesting other things besides the Demo-GOP course toward nuclear destruction — the anti-labor drive, Jim Crow, inflation, unemployment, the threat of another depression, the farm crisis. It is a way, too, of registering a desire for independent political action, for a third or labor party by those who may be far from ready to accept a socialist alternative.

"Yet," you stated Oct. 17, "many voters who might vote for the Dobbs ticket as a way of recording a protest vote, or even as an endorsement of Dobbs' position on Cuba, will think twice about it since their votes might be interpreted as anti-United Nations and peaceful coexistence." This might appear to suggest reservations about the desirability of voting for Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the Socialist Workers candidates for President and Vice President.

As reason for the hesitation, you state that the SWP opposes "the concept of peaceful coexistence" and opposes "the participation of socialist with capitalist societies in world bodies such as the United Nations."

This is an unfortunate simplification of our position. We are opposed to Wall Street's plans for eventual war on the Soviet Union; and we are not against advocating peaceful coexistence. In fact we think it can be useful to expose the hypocrisy of the imperialist warmakers. What we oppose is the illusion that the capitalist countries are really capable of following a policy of peaceful coexistence. Our position on this has much in common with that maintained recently by certain leaders of the Chinese People's Republic.

Similarly, in regard to participation in the UN: We think that every country that wishes to has a right to participate and we have vigorously supported the Chinese People's Republic, for instance, in insisting on this right. What we are against is the illusion that the UN can substitute for socialism as the road to enduring peace. Premier Khrushchev, we thought, confirmed the correctness of this stand rather effectively by his exposition of the UN's role in the Congo and the nuclear brinkmanship of American imperialism.

Premier Castro's cogent speech, calling for more revolutions like the one in Cuba, seemed to us a model way of participating.

We hope that this clarification will help readers of the GUARDIAN to resolve their dilemma at the polls in favor of the SWP. Should any socialist wish to pull the lever in the voting booth strictly in accordance with his socialist principles (surely the number is increasing in America!), we suggest that a study of the SWP election platform will prove rewarding. Write us for a free copy at 116 University Place, N.Y. 3, N.Y.

Joseph Hansen, Chairman, Campaign Committee

Wall Street Journal

"Oh, let's stick it through to the end. It will be a wonderful test in self-discipline."

Rebel with a cause
BALTIMORE, MD.

To rebel against the Republocrats at this time by merely staying away from the polls is to be a rebel without a cause.

On the other hand, a hundred thousand socialist votes would make Labor sit up and take notice.

As to which of the two socialist parties independent socialists should support, the Socialist Workers Party is the one which advocates the formation of a labor party.

A. Robert Kaufman

All good men . . .
ORANGE, CALIF.

Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of a third party.

R. Seibel

Party, men and issues
WASHINGTON, KAN.

There is little hope for better government in the U.S. until the people get to the place where they cannot be propagandized into the belief that "party" is the yardstick for taking the measure of men or issues.

Ernest B. Benne

More Mailbag on p. 8

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

TWO YEARS AGO, in Vol. 1, No. 1, we said: "We present our publication humbly, in the conviction that the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will speak for peace, freedom and abundance."

We feel, still with humility, that we have kept the faith. Some others who bespoke the cause—the faint of heart and the muddled—have dropped away. But their number has been so small—in the face of witch-hunt, character assassination, loss of livelihood, violence and prison—that it has given great heart to those who stayed in the fight.

The cause IS being fought for; make no mistake about that. When we discussed this issue you are now reading we decided that the best way we could mark our birthday would be to turn the whole issue (enlarged by eight pages) over to the fighters—the men and the women who are trying for office under the banner of peace and decency.

They are plain people with truth in their hearts and without fear. They are the salt of the earth.

—**Editorial in the National Guardian, Oct. 25, 1950.**

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S.A. Possessions, Canada, $5 a year. Latin America, $6 a year, elsewhere $6.50 a year. First class and airmail rates on request. United Kingdom 35s a year, payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W2, England. Single copies 15c. Reentered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Vol. 13, No. 2 401 October 24, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

A nation in holes?

FROM ABOVE THE BATTLE of TV debates and barnstorming thrusts—from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions set up last year by the Fund for the Republic—comes a report on the shape of things to come which renders the Kennedy-Nixon Presidential contest remote indeed from the perils which may lie ahead for the American people.

This report, by Caltech geochemist Harrison Brown and a Center consultant, James Real, presents these conclusions:

- "The war machine gathers strength, and serious consideration of its diminution is rare and often timid."
- "There are domestic forces, largely unspoken, that commit us more absolutely each day to the path away from effective arms control—not to speak of actual disarmament."
- These forces include a growing impact of defense spending on the American economy and an alliance between a military elite with great political power and scientists and technicians to develop new weapons.
- "As the Russians' military position becomes more clearly dominant in the next decade, and as increasing psychological pressure is brought to bear on the Western positions everywhere, the likelihood of desperate, erratic, unauthorized action by the U.S. and Allied forces is much greater than the chance of similar breaches of discipline by the Soviets."
- Development of 1,000-megaton nuclear bombs (with the explosive force of a billion tons of TNT) is in the offing. One such bomb would be capable of "searing six Western states." But even a minimal nuclear attack directed against this country's retaliatory air and missile bases at present might kill 60,000,000 people.
- If the arms race continues, "as it probably will," it will first mean "adjusting ourselves to living in holes. From that time onward it will be simple to adjust ourselves to living in deeper holes."

FOR MOST GUARDIAN READERS, the news in the foregoing is that someone other than the American Left is saying it, and not science fiction writers but sober-sided researchers financed by the Ford Foundation, parent of the Fund for the Republic. And all must be concerned over the ominous fact that, from their platforms and the speeches of their candidates, both major parties must be included among the "domestic forces" which "commit us more absolutely each day to the path away from effective arms control—not to speak of actual disarmament." Indeed, mention by any major party Presidential or Vice Presidential candidate of "diminution" of the war machine is not just rare and timid, it is unspeakable.

Obviously, our game must be to develop some kind of a deterrent against the forces building to the gloomy future outlined above, even though it is clear that the next four or eight years of our nation's life will be guided by one or the other advocate of an increasing arms race.

SOME CONCEIVE, as does Dr. Corliss Lamont, for example, (see p. 6), that the men around Kennedy such as Stevenson, Bowles, Prof. Galbraith and James P. Warburg (who is not to our knowledge a member of Kennedy's group of advisers, although certainly a weighty factor in the Democratic Party), will put "a strong pressure on him for a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence and far-reaching disarmament." A concurring view from Connecticut says that "the political forces that will sweep Kennedy into office represent the progressive coalition that Franklin Roosevelt welded together, and Kennedy will be the creature of these political forces."

Others believe that the best deterrent to whichever party may win on Nov. 8 is the determination now to form third party tickets for '62 and '64, as Homer Chase proposed in last week's Mailbag; and he says the best way to show this intention now is to vote "No" for President, while voting "Yes" for peace, civil and labor rights in state and Congressional contests.

Still others argue that the best way to show dissent is with a positive protest such as a vote for a minor party Presidential ticket which will be possible in some 20 states, including most of the big-vote states except California (see Joseph Hansen's letter this page).

And, **mirabile dictu,** there are those who believe that the best way to joggle the aim of the war establishment and still get things done domestically is to vote in Nixon-Lodge and saddle them with an overwhelmingly Democratic Congress—presumably while we scurry up a third party threat for '64 and after.

We believe that all of these alternatives are constructively offered. As to which we recommend, we have not yet taken our own editorial poll, but think it only fair to divulge that preliminary straw votes indicate the result as to Kennedy and Nixon will be neither-nor, with what to do with the withheld vote a matter of private conscience.

—THE GUARDIAN

A TALK WITH JOHN McFERREN OF TENNESSEE

Where the fight to vote is a fight for life

By Joanne Grant

"THE WILD GEESE are gatherin' up North. Winter is setting in, and the crop is short. There's no alternative to starvation." That's the answer John McFerren of Somerville, Tenn., gives when asked about the immediate future for Negro residents of embattled Fayette County.

The tall, spare Negro farmer has tightened his belt for the siege. He and nearly 1,400 others are blacklisted in the county for having registered to vote—the first since Reconstruction. They and their relatives are victims of an economic boycott under which white merchants won't sell them food and clothing or give them credit to buy seed for next year's crop. Most are unable to repay previous loans or keep up with mortgage payments.

McFerren made his first trip North last week to accept two trailer truckloads of food and clothing collected for the beleaguered Tennesseeans by the Greater Newark Alliance for Integration and Dignity (AID) and to address an open air rally on Oct. 8 in Newark's Lincoln Park.

THE BEGINNING: Fayette County's story began in 1957 when McFerren and 14 others registered to vote and formed the Fayette County Civic and Welfare

JOHN McFERREN
"It's my home and I'm stayin'"

League. County authorities, said McFerren, circulated a letter to all election districts designating the election as a "white primary." The Negroes were not allowed to vote and economic pressure on them began. Today there are 1,400 registered Negroes and 2,000 members of the Civic and Welfare League.

"This economic boycott," McFerren said, "has made the Negro of the whole mid-South wake up. And ain't nobody going to put him to sleep again."

Explaining life in Dixie, McFerren said: "Slavery still exists in the South. There are farmers less than 20 miles from where I live who don't know a dollar. Others work for a dollar a day."

On relations with whites, he said: "One thing is hard to understand. Our wives and children work in their houses, cook in their kitchens. We put our hands in their bread, but yet we can't have other freedoms."

SOME WHITES HELP: At the Newark rally as he described conditions in Fayette County he said: "When you hear babies crying for food . . ." He stopped, his eyes filled with tears, his voice broke and he left the speakers' stand. A few moments later he returned to face a silent, tearful audience and went on:

"There are 15 whites in Fayette County who also can't buy goods. They are blacklisted, too, for helping us." He smiled then and said: "There are also white 'under the cover' with me."

McFerren has a $2,000 price on his head, offered by the White Citizens Council. "At 2 a.m. a white man came and told me about it and I didn't even know him. There are good-hearted, liberal-minded people everywhere in every religion and every race."

Later in an interview, when asked about the methods used in the struggle, McFerren said: "My slogan is non-violence. I don't believe in fighting. Nobody wins. But push me in a corner and I come out. Nobody's going to drag me off."

WON'T LEAVE: Since 1957, when he began his fight, McFerren has been forced out of the lumber business, forced to stop farming and now is able to operate a general store only by driving hundreds of miles a week to pick up supplies wherever he can outside the county.

The White Citizens Council, in an effort to break Negro unity and to force McFerren out, has recently opened a store 500 feet from McFerren's which offers goods below wholesale cost. McFerren said: "It's my home and I'm stayin'."

The only thing keeping Fayette Negroes from starvation, McFerren said, is outside help. Food and clothing have been sent by many individuals and organizations in the North, including the NAACP and the Congress of Racial Equality. Largest single source of help so far has been the National Committee for Rural Schools, 112 E. 19th St., New York. More help is needed to see Negro families through the winter.

"There are families back home who live on parched corn," McFerren said. "One man has 11 in his family and no one has shoes except the grandmother. Before his wife registered to vote the whole family worked on a plantation. Now the owner will hire only the man and he pays him $4 for a ten-hour day."

MEDICAL CARE DENIED: There are no Negro doctors in the county and the two white clinics refuse to treat Negroes. Two persons died after white clinics refused to treat them. One was a five-year-old who had pneumonia. McFerren's wife, Viola, had to travel 50 miles six months ago to give birth to her third child, a girl. The McFerrens also have 26-month-old twins.

McFerren is a young-looking 35 who appears to have suffered no ill-effects from the pressures of the past two years. "The only thing that's happened," he said, "is that I can't remember names no more. But I can remember conversations word for word and after I talk with you for awhile I can tell exactly what you think and what kind of person you are. The white folks call me a mind reader."

He showed tension only once, following a telephone call from home telling him of "trouble." Then he jangled some keys and made an abrupt move to depart to make plans for returning home. "Most times, I worry inside," he said.

GAS BOYCOTT BROKEN: Among the victories Fayette Negroes have won was the breaking of a gas boycott which had kept many Negro land owners from working their land. Negroes were unable to buy gas in the county and were forbidden by state law to carry more than 50 gallons across a county line without a license. "It took me five months and 24,000 miles of driving to break the gas bottle," McFerren said, "but I did it." Gas was delivered to McFerren's tanks in the middle of the night two months ago by an armed convoy. McFerren refuses to name his benefactors for fear of reprisals against them.

But the fight goes on. Two weeks ago, on the last day to register before the November election, 500 Negroes stood all day in the rain waiting to be registered. Few got in. Rumor among Fayette Negroes is that registration lines were packed with people from outside the county on the last day, as on others, to keep registrars busy. Whether or not these "outsiders" will vote is not known to Negroes.

"But," McFerren said, "the pressures being applied in Fayette are schooling the people of the South. The Negro is unrest now and he won't never go to sleep again. The white merchants already begin getting uneasy about his goods on the shelf and note in the bank. If we can hold out continuously we can break the camel's back."

Among the plans the Civic and Welfare League has for holding out is one to build a cooperative cotton gin to handle this year's crop. At present the cotton crop is half-harvested and Negroes have to haul their cotton 70 miles to be ginned. About $140,000 is needed to build their own gin.

FEDERAL INACTION: He was asked: Are Negroes helping to bring in white farmers' cotton? "No," McFerren answered. "They are all with us. The only thing the Negro has is his labor, we know that."

While in New York, McFerren visited several organizations and Foundations for financial aid and he plans to seek Federal funds.

Up to now Federal intervention has been grossly inadequate. Even in instituting a voter registration suit charging intimidation of Negroes the government moved strangely. It is suing in neighboring Haywood County rather than in Fayette, where Federal agents have been gathering information for more than a year. Haywood is not as well organized to resist the economic reprisals as Fayette Negroes are. Federal authorities did not intervene earlier this fall when a demand was made to have the two counties declared a disaster area. The Red Cross said it was unable to act unless local authorities termed the problem a "disaster."

Carty, New York Citizen-Call
We tried to vote

In one area the Federal government did act. The Postmaster General intervened after learning that McFerren had received open and empty envelopes. The local postmaster and assistant were dismissed.

Despite all the pressures and many legal actions, McFerren pointed out that he had not been arrested to date: "That's one reason I say God is in the Movement."

'NEW DEAL FOR MINORITIES' PROMISED

The talk was fine at Kennedy's Constitutional Rights Conference

PROMISING a "New Deal for minority groups" and scoring the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration for "staging an eight-year sit-in against civil rights," Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan brought to a close Senator Kennedy's National Conference on Constitutional Rights and American Freedoms in New York on Columbus Day.

The conference was one of a series called by Kennedy to discuss ways to implement the Democratic platform on specific issues. The two-day Constitutional Rights conference was attended by 400 delegates from 42 states, most of them Negro, civic and Democratic Party leaders.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota said at the opening session that ". . . this conference means business . . .

We are here to grapple with the major domestic issue extant. And we are here to come up with pragmatic, attainable programs for civil rights progress."

Three panels on legislative and executive action heard testimony from 63 persons and made the following recommendations:

- Establishment of an office responsible directly to the President to insure prompt and vigorous executive action on civil rights.
- Immediate enactment of a comprehensive civil rights bill.
- A series of White House Conferences to create conditions for compliance with the Supreme Court school desegregation decision.
- Full use of the Attorney General's power to protect voting rights.
- Executive orders to prohibit discrimination in Federally assisted housing, and reorganization of the Committee on Government Contracts.

QUEST FOR GREATNESS: Kennedy personally accepted the conference's interim report and promised to give the "moral leadership" needed.

Among those on the platform to hear Kennedy accept the conference proposals were Sen. Wayne Morse, Mayor Robert Wagner, Averell Harriman, Herbert H. Lehman, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Rep. Emanuel Celler.

Many conference speakers stressed the need for a dynamic leader and a change in political spirit. Mrs. Roosevelt was given a standing ovation when she appeared as main speaker at one of the sessions, but got little response when she called upon the people to give a sense of greatness to the Democratic candidate. She said: "We can expect it of Kennedy, and if we expect it, and give him backing, I think we will have a good public servant and a great President."

Sen. Humphrey said that a "change of political party without a change in political spirit is meaningless," but there was no audience response when he said: "We have it now." Most enthusiastic reaction to a speaker was when a Cleveland union delegate said from the floor: "Asians and Africans can't hear what we say for seeing what we do. We want to hear Kennedy's voice ringing loud and clear, speaking out with a clear stand."

Between sessions there was much discussion of the trouble Vice Presidential candidate Lyndon B. Johnson is giving to Party workers around the country. A man from Denver said: "There's no enthusiasm; Johnson is holding us back." Senator Johnson sent a greeting to the conference saying that "the administration of Jack Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson will be an administration which will protect the constitutional rights of all Americans."

COMING NEXT WEEK
GBS
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FOUR FULL PAGES OF ATTRACTIVE GIFT ITEMS FOR THE WHOLE FAMILY

Amigos! Guardian Holiday Cuba tour is set

OUR MAN IN HAVANA has just come through with the exciting details of our Christmas-New Year's tour to Cuba Dec. 23-Jan. 2, and we're now ready to accept your reservations.

It's an all-expenses-paid $350 package—Idlewild to Idlewild (or Miami to Miami for about $110 less)—including three meals a day, hotels and several hundred miles of tours through four of Cuba's provinces, an overnight and sojourn at Varadero Beach, and ringside seats at Cuba's Independence Day celebration Jan. 1. The tours will include an all-day trip to the agricultural cooperatives in Pinar del Rio and a three-day tour to Matanzas and Santa Clara, possibly reaching as far east toward Oriente as Camaguey. Other tours around Havana and its suburbs will include visits to the new children's city on the site of the onetime military fortress, Camp Columbia; the immense Havana East Workers Housing Project, Havana's marvelous beach development and new people's playgrounds, and stops at various agencies of Bienestar, the social welfare bureau concerned with youth and old age care.

THE HOTEL? Well, we'll arrive at and depart from the deluxe Havana Libre (formerly the Hilton and, when the tourist agencies were saying nice things about Cuba, hailed not only as Cuba's best, but as one of the best in the world.) Of our ten nights in Cuba, six will be spent at the Havana Libre, the rest on tour. Also, we will be guests for banquets at two other famous deluxe hotels, the Riviera and the Nacional, on Christmas Day and New Year's Day; and for Christmas and New Year's Eve banquets at Havana's Rio Cristal park and Tropicana night club.

There will also be trips to government buildings and interviews with officials including, we expect, a visit to the Presidential Palace before which Cuba holds some of its million-strong people's meetings. We asked Our Man in Havana over the telephone how he figured to squeeze all this into nine days between our arrival and departure. "Don't worry," he replied, "it just fits." Actually, we'll be on the go every day, from Sat., Dec. 24, through Sun., Jan. 1, without let up. Free time will have to be borrowed from the schedule.

YEAR 'ROUND WARMTH WELCOMES ANGELS IN CUBA, SO KEEP YOUR SUMMER DUDS HANDY
Last summer's "Amigos de Cuba" GUARDIAN tourists (above) began a 12-day visit by placing a wreath on the pedestal of the monument to patriot Jose Marti in Old Havana last July 25. Our Christmas time tour will pack more excitement into nine full days.

TO RESERVE for the tour now, you should send us a $50 deposit for each person in your party and—don't forget—this visit was arranged to coincide with the year's end holidays so students of all ages would be free to go. There will be plenty of immense interest to young people, and those under 12 travel half-fare on the airlines, a saving of about $75 for those going via Idlewild and about $20 via Miami. Check-in time at both Idlewild and Miami will be about 3 p.m.; exact departure times will be announced later.

And no matter what anybody says, Cuba welcomes friendly visitors and will welcome you. Address your inquiries and $50 deposits to Theodora Peck, National Guardian, 197 East Fourth St., New York 9, N. Y.

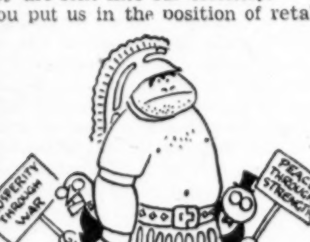
Mr. K at the UN

(Continued from Page 1)

tion here in order to humiliate the U.S." When the plane was shot down, he said, he had gone out of his way to say that "the President probably did not know about the flight." He said he knew President Eisenhower was aware of the flight, "perhaps not directly," but he opened an escape hatch which the President refused to use.

"What were we supposed to do about that?" Khrushchev asked. When Eisenhower assumed responsibility for the U-2 flight and said such flights would continue in the interest of U.S. security, the Soviet Premier declared that Moscow had no alternative but to proclaim its intention to "keep on shooting down planes if they are sent into our territory."

"You put us in the position of retaliation," he said. "Every country is entitled to respond to a blow by a blow . . . If you want war, keep on provoking it and you will get war, if that is what you choose. We have no choice . . Acknowledge that you did something wrong and that is all we want."



GRAVE DANGERS: The Soviet disarmament resolution, as Khrushchev presented it, called on the UN General Assembly to recognize that the present armament race "is fraught with enormous dangers for the peoples of all countries" and to recommend "the swiftest possible elaboration and conclusion of a treaty of disarmament." The treaty would be based on the principle of "general and complete disarmament" to be carried out "in agreed stages, progressively in specific time limits . . . from beginning to end under international control, the volume of which shall be commensurate with the volume and character of the disarmament measures to be carried out in each stage."

After detailing the various stages, the resolution states that "to carry out control and inspection over disarmament there shall be established within the framework of the UN an international control organization, with the participation of all States." It asserts that "in conditions of general and complete disarmament" international police and militia forces would be available to the UN for the maintenance of world peace and security and to which member states would contribute from the police contingents left to them for international order.

AN EQUAL FOOTING: The resolution explains the need for representation "on an equal footing" of the Western, socialist and neutralist countries on the UN Secretariat and the Security Council, "to rule out the possibility" of utilizing the international police and militia forces "in the interest of any particular State or group of States."

Khrushchev had a number of reasons for urging General Assembly discussion of disarmament. Time after time Moscow has made, as Walter Lippmann noted (Feb. 18), "concessions [that] promise a political breakthrough of historic significance." Three years ago Eisenhower's personal representative Harold Stassen had practically reached a nuclear test ban agreement, only to have the late Secy. of State Dulles pull the rug out from under him and send him out to pasture.

Since then, the Soviets have made numerous concessions, including changes in the stages of disarmament to suit the U.S. and France. They have been willing to negotiate the time limit for disarmament—both for the various stages and for general and complete disarmament. Jules Moch, head of the French delegation to the UN Disarmament Commission, said in the New York **Times Magazine** (Aug. 14): "It cannot be doubted that for various reasons the Russians want to lighten their armaments burden."

THE MANPOWER SOURCE: Moch noted: "The U.S.S.R. has built up its ruins, won the battle of industrialization, and had great success in various fields—from the military, scientific and technical to the athletic . . . The standard of living is rising rapidly . . . If to these unquestionable facts is added faith in final victory, the necessary conclusion is that Khrushchev counts on the example of his country's future prosperity—and not on its rockets—to convert the free world."

The manpower needed for these accomplishments, Moch said, was to be met by demobilization, of which the first stage—involving demobilizing 3,500,000 men—had already been effected, "thus decreasing their military establishment to 2,400,000." Moch said that "Moscow has worked out, and today accepts, forms of inspection which it earlier had rejected."

SHIFTING WEST: Despite concessions and evidence of sincere Soviet desire for disarmament supplied by Moch, the U.S. has consistently shifted its position whenever agreement seemed attainable, and has carried its Western partners with it. The Soviet Union has tried to pin the West down by enlarging disarmament committees, by obtaining unanimous UN approval of its general and complete disarmament proposal at last year's Assembly session, but all to no avail.

While this impasse has continued, the demand for further nuclear weapons tests has increased in the U.S., and France has been going ahead with plans for more tests; the U.S. has been flexing its military muscles at its military bases around the world, (the latest demonstration taking place within a stone's throw of Laos, whose government seems to be veering toward neutralism); West Germany was not only being armed with nuclear weapons but has developed in cooperation with Holland a relatively cheap method of producing atomic weapon materials, an event which brings dangerously closer the possibility of a large number of nuclear-armed countries.

A THOROUGH AIRING: At the same time, the outmoded UN structure has made it possible for UN forces in the Congo to contribute to the fall from power of the very government—popularly elected—which invited these forces in the first place. And this has happened despite the simultaneous admission of African states in the UN, most of whom favor the restoration of the Lumumba government.

Looking at this desperate situation, Khrushchev came to the conclusion that only a thorough airing of all aspects of disarmament in the General Assembly's plenary session—with the present large body of socialist, capitalist and neutralist nations almost evenly represented—could any concrete results be achieved. And only this body could give proper directives to a smaller disarmament committee—which Khrushchev urged be expanded to include the neutralists now unrepresented—to work out the details.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES: The General Assembly would also be the proper place to bring out in the open the basic difference in the U.S. and Soviet approaches to disarmament.

- The U.S. seems interested solely in "arms control" and "inspection" prior to any elimination of weapons, with no guarantee of complete disarmament at any time in the future.
- The Soviet Union seeks a disarmament treaty which would commit all signatories to complete disarmament within a specified time limit, with its various controlled and inspected stages as well as its goal clearly envisaged.

It is this Western attempt to confuse "arms control" with disarmament, this "procrastination" at a time of extreme urgency when "thermonuclear war is looming over us"—as Khrushchev put it—that made the Soviet Premier depart from the polite language of diplomacy and try to hammer home with voice and fist the need for the broadest possible discussion of disarmament.

ASSURANCE NEEDED: Khrushchev earnestly declared: "We can attain disarmament, provided the U.S. agrees to that. We can do so honestly." He said he did not "insist on [his proposals'] verbatim adoption, but on their tenor." He added:

"I ask your indulgence if I have perhaps spoken out of turn occasionally . . . We must disarm. Please understand me, I request no privileges for myself; I ask no privileges for our socialist countries. Let us have equal conditions. I do not want the other group of states, the countries of the imperialist camp and of large-scale monopolistic capital, to have privileges either . . . [The neutralists, too] must be represented . . and there must be equality among these groups of States.

"Then, and only then, will there be an assurance that disarmament will be carried out, that international armed forces will be created and that these forces will not be used against either one State or a group of States."

12 Light a Candle with us at the
GUARDIAN
12th Anniversary Dinner
Friday, November 11
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WHY LOPEZ MATEOS HAS TURNED TO THE RIGHT

Mexico's paradox: Progress at the expense of the people

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

OFFICIAL ACTS commemorating the 150th anniversary of the beginning of Mexico's War of Independence and the 50th of the onset of its Revolution reveal that this country no longer represents the youngest and most radical of social movements in the Americas.

The prevailing climate was typified when a commercial bank was permitted to sponsor the television broadcast of President Adolfo Lopez Mateos' re-enactment of the historic Cry of Dolores—in a country where more than half the families live on $40 or less a month. Also symptomatic is the President's exhortation to the youth to respect law and order, conform to the institutions of their elders, and ignore the example of other nations. Such admonitions have an odd ring in a Latin American land, where the rebelliousness of youth is traditionally a major political factor, and they are not likely to prevent student demonstrations nor reduce the appeal of the Cuban Revolution.

All this does not mean that the economic and social transformation begun in 1910 has come to a halt. After buying the local subsidiaries of the American & Foreign Power Co. last April, the government has now virtually completed nationalization of the electric power industry by the purchase of a controlling interest in the previously foreign-owned Mexican Light & Power Co. Land reform and education are being pushed with greater vigor than in the last 20 years. In his message to Congress, Lopez Mateos forecast that the rate of economic growth will reach 7% this year, against 4.7% in 1959.

PARADOX: Yet Mexicans are questioning both the means and the ends of the country's economic development. The word counter-revolution is increasingly used by responsible writers to characterize the 20-year period since the administration of Gen. Lazaro Cardenas during which, paradoxically, Mexico has made great strides in industrial and agricultural production.

The apparent contradiction is explained by the fact that this economic progress has been accomplished largely at the expense of the peasants and workers. Low prices for food products, low wages for industrial workers and an inequitable tax system made possible the capital accumulations which paid for the factories and public works. The notable development of agriculture has been achieved largely by violating or evading the agrarian reform to permit large commercial farms on land improved by government irrigation works, which produce cotton and other cash crops.

THIS OMINOUS FINGER GOT BETWEEN IKE AND LOPEZ MATEOS LAST YEAR
The two Presidents are scheduled to meet again in Mexico Oct. 24.

In short, the benefits of Mexico's impressive economic growth during the last two decades have been very unevenly distributed, with the lion's share going to build up the middle class and a new élite, composed of revolutionaries "to whom the Revolution did justice," as the Mexican saying goes, and the survivors of the pre-revolutionary aristocracy. A leading Mexican economist wrote last year that "despite the general advances, there still exists a very great inequality between the living standard of the majority and that of a small sector of the population, and it is presumed that the concentration of income has increased in the last 20 years."

EARLY HOPES: Growing dissatisfaction coupled with the election promises of President Lopez Mateos raised hopes for a kind of Mexican New Deal; these were bolstered by some of the measures adopted during the first months of the new administration at the beginning of 1959. But after almost two years it has become clear that the Lopez Mateos government, despite important differences and certain positive achievements, is essentially a continuation of the reactionary trend that characterized its predecessors during the Forties and Fifties.

The pursuit of capitalist development, which seems to be the dominant note of this administration, is likely to meet up with some knotty economic problems. Last year's successful defense against an increase in the cost of living, which held the rise in wholesale prices down to 1.2%, has been breached. In the first eight months of this year, the wholesale price index of the Bank of Mexico rose 4.1% over the same period in 1959, and if the trend continues it will generate strong pressure in the unions for a new round of wage increases.

Likewise, the foreign trade picture has deteriorated. A sharp increase in imports, accompanied by a drop in exports, resulted in a deficit of $8,200,000 in the commercial balance for the first five months of this year, against a surplus of $83,500,000 from January to May, 1959. Thus the administrative steps to control imports and stimulate exports could not overcome the effects of Mexico's excessive dependence on the U.S. as a trading partner.

HEAVY BURDEN: While the growing strength of Mexican state and private capital had made itself felt in the Mexicanization of several large foreign companies, foreign investment in Mexico is still increasing at a heavy rate. Consequently, an ever greater portion of incoming foreign exchange goes to service foreign obligations, instead of buying equipment. According to the Bank of Mexico, direct foreign investments—around 80% from the U.S.—rose from $919,300,000 in 1955 to $1,427,700,000 in 1959. New capital estimated at $52,800,000 in January-August, 1960, brings the total to $1,480,500,000. In addition, the Mexican government had an external debt of $575,800,000 on June 30 last.

An idea of the burden imposed by the present level of direct foreign investments may be had from the fact that in 1959 dividend, interest and royalty payments reached $130,000,000, while new investments brought in $133,000,000. A recent study estimates that between 1955 and 1959 amortization of Mexico's public external debt increased 147%, interest payments on the same 81%, and payments servicing private foreign investments 64%, so that in the latter year the total outflow reached 21.5% of Mexico's income on current account. Obviously, a continuation of this trend will block healthy economic development.

TURN TO RIGHT: The solution of these economic problems depends to a large extent on political decisions, which the Lopez Mateos administration has been unwilling to face. Last July, the President defined the outlook of his government as "extreme left, within the Constitution." The most plausible explanation for this statement is that Lopez Mateos sought to identify himself with and boost the formation of an anti-Communist Left.

But the effect was largely lost in the following upsurge of political intolerance and national chauvinism, which signaled the counterattack from the Right. The bloody clashes between students and police and the imprisonment in August of well-known Left intellectuals, including the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros, showed that the President was far more willing to placate the Right than head up a popular Left alliance. However, these blows have made the deeply divided Mexican Left aware of the peril. Serious efforts are under way to bury old differences and reach a minimum understanding among its members.

Twenty-two months after entering office, Lopez Mateos has lost much of the popular support that elected him. The alternatives for the remaining four years of his term are either increasing resort to the police power to suppress opposition or practical action showing that the aim of his government is not only to keep the rate of economic development ahead of the rate of increase of the population, but to effect a more equitable distribution of the national wealth.

LAWYERS GUILD ACTS

N. Y. jimcrow school policy called illegal

NEW YORK CITY'S "Neighborhood School Policy" perpetuates segregation and is unconstitutional, the New York City Chapter of the Natl. Lawyers Guild charged in a memorandum to the Board of Education on Oct. 5.

The Guild said that "the concept that a school should reflect the neighborhood turns out in reality to be a concept that the school should be a segregated school where the neighborhood is segregated. . . . The Board of Education here has itself declared that 'segregated education is inferior education.'"

The memorandum charged that the school decision "is subverted by a neighborhood school policy which results in segregated education. The adverse social, psychological and educational effects upon children who attend segregated schools in the South similarly applies to segregated schools in New York City."

OBEY THE COURT: The Board of Education's recently stated "open enrollment" plan was called encouraging because "it implies a recognition . . . of the need to repudiate the Neighborhood School Policy," but added that it did not abandon that policy. Open enrollment, the Guild said, applies only to a small percentage of students and in effect shifts to parents the responsibility for desegregation.

The memorandum recommended that the Board of Education rescind its "unconstitutional Neighborhood School Policy [and] do what the Federal courts have been compelling recalcitrant school systems in the South to do: To prepare in good faith a feasible and reasonable plan for integration and a time-table consistent with good faith compliance at the earliest practicable date, in accordance with the burden which our highest court has declared rests upon the school systems of our country."

Meet John McFerren of Tennessee

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CORLISS LAMONT OFFERS TEN POINTS

A progressive puts the case for Kennedy

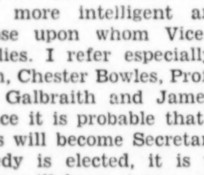
By Corliss Lamont

RUSS NIXON'S first three articles in the GUARDIAN comparing the respective records of the Democratic and Republican Presidential candidates have been extremely interesting and informative. But in the end he comes out for neither Senator Kennedy nor Vice President Nixon; and for me the implication of his series is that both men are unworthy of the Presidency and that there is not sufficient difference between them to warrant progressives and radicals voting for either. Much as I respect Russ Nixon's views, I cannot agree with his estimate of the situation, and I want to give the reasons why.

I am not enthusiastic about Kennedy. Like Nixon, he has pursued the cold war, insisted on increased U.S. armaments, and carried on tirades against Communist China and the Castro regime in Cuba. I am naturally opposed to all this. Yet looking at the political picture as a whole, I have come to the conclusion that from the progressive viewpoint Kennedy would be a far safer and saner man to have in the White House than the unscrupulous and inherently reactionary Nixon. I shall sum up my position under ten main points.

FIRST, the men around Kennedy are much more intelligent and liberal than those upon whom Vice President Nixon relies. I refer especially to Adlai Stevenson, Chester Bowles, Professor John Kenneth Galbraith and James P. Warburg. Since it is probable that Stevenson or Bowles will become Secretary of State if Kennedy is elected, it is very likely that there will be a strong pressure on him for a foreign policy of peaceful coexistence and far-reaching disarmament. Moreover, liberal intellectuals in general are supporting Kennedy, and they too will be able to exercise influence upon him.

In addition, the many liberal Democrats in the U.S. Senate are and will continue to be influential with Kennedy. I am thinking of Senators such as Clark of Pennsylvania, Fulbright of Arkansas, Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota, Kefauver of Tennessee, Mansfield of Montana, Monroney of Oklahoma, and Young of Ohio. The four more conservative individuals, headed by Paul H. Nitze, whom Kennedy appointed to advise him on national security if he is chosen President, will not, in my opinion, offset the liberal atmosphere in which a Kennedy Administration will function, or Kennedy's own progressive tendencies.



SECOND, I am convinced that Kennedy as President would have a better chance of successfully negotiating with the Soviet Union than Nixon, who is discredited and handicapped by his close association with the fearful Eisenhower blunders of the past year. At the time of the U-2 spy-plane flight over the U.S.S.R., Kennedy criticized the President and said that he should have expressed his regrets to Premier Khrushchev. He forcefully repeated this criticism in his TV debate with Nixon on Oct. 7. The Democratic platform deplores the "mishandling" of the spy-plane flights.

On Sept. 6 Kennedy wrote a letter to Thomas E. Murray, a former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, repudiating his suggestion that the U.S. should resume underground nuclear weapons tests and similar tests in outer space. Kennedy persuasively stated his reasons for favoring an over-all cessation of nuclear tests and declared that even if the current talks concerning the matter at Geneva were unsuccessful, he would initiate, if elected President, "vigorous negotiation" with Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union.

THIRD, while Kennedy like Nixon opposes U.S. recognition of Communist China and its admission into the United Nations, his general position on China is somewhat more enlightened than the Vice President's. As Russ Nixon himself writes: "On June 14 Kennedy said, 'We must work to improve communications with mainland China.' He suggested that China could be brought into the nuclear test ban talks as a prelude to other contacts."

FOURTH, Kennedy is a little better on Cuba than Nixon. In his Cincinnati speech of Oct. 6 he foolishly called Cuba "communism's first island base," and went on roundly to condemn Castro "and his gang." In the second part of his address, however, Kennedy lambasted the Eisenhower Administration for giving military assistance to the Batista dictatorship and for refusing "to help Cuba meet its desperate need for economic assistance." Kennedy referred to the Batista regime as "one of the most bloody and repressive dictatorships in the history of Latin America." And he added: "In a manner certain to antagonize the Cuban people, we used the influence of our government to advance the interests and increase the profits of the private American companies which dominated the island's economy."

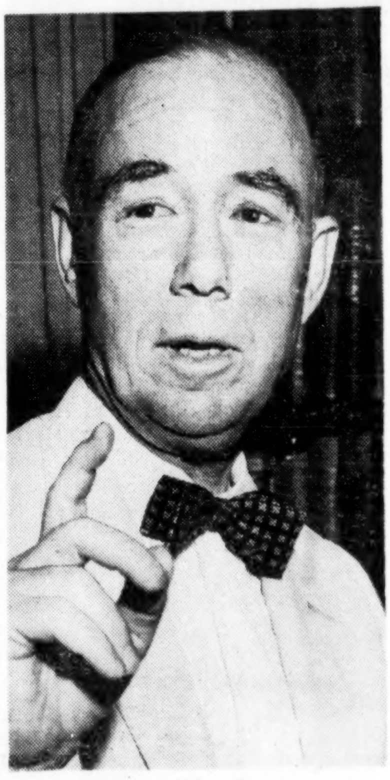
FIFTH, Kennedy's record and present position on civil liberties are considerably better than Nixon's. Although in his early years in Congress Kennedy was not strongly anti-McCarthy and voted for two or three bad anti-freedom bills, he has grown since that period. As Russ Nixon points out, Kennedy voted against an immunity bill calculated to undermine the Fifth Amendment, and against anti-Supreme Court bills passed in 1958 by the House of Representatives. Also, to quote Russ Nixon, "in 1959 and 1960 he led the successful fight to eliminate the affidavit loyalty requirement for Federal scholarship students."

Whereas the Republican Party platform does not even mention civil liberties, the Democratic platform, in a separate action headed "Civil Liberties," makes a fairly good statement about the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The Democrats promise, for example, that they "will strive to improve Congressional investigating and hearing procedures."

Most revealing of all is to contrast the respective statements made recently by Kennedy and Nixon to the American Civil Liberties Union. Kennedy's comments are twice as long and twice as good as Nixon's. After citing three periods in history when American civil liberties were under heavy attack, Kennedy says: "In our own times, the old blunt instruments have again been put to work. The States have followed in the footsteps of Federalists and have put Alien and Sedition Acts upon their statute books. An epidemic of loyalty oaths has spread across the Nation until no town or village seems to feel secure until its servants have purged themselves of all suspicion of non-conformity by swearing to their political cleanliness.

"Those who love the twilight speak as if public education must be training in conformity, and government support of science be public aid of caution.

"We have also seen a sharpening and refinement of abusive power. The legislative investigation, designed and often exercised for the achievement of high ends, has too frequently been used by the Nation and the States as a means for effecting the disgrace and degradation of private persons. Unscrupulous demagogues have used the power to investigate as tyrants of an earlier day used the bill of attainder."



CORLISS LAMONT
He sees a "greater good"

Whatever weaknesses we find in Kennedy's past regarding civil liberties, we discover little in it that is comparable to Nixon's vicious record of red-baiting, witch-hunting (particularly as a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee), and active sponsorship of the repressive Mundt-Nixon bill which became the Internal Security Act of 1950. Without exaggeration we can say that his success along these lines was a major factor in his original nomination for Vice President in 1952.

During the 1960 campaign Nixon showed his propensity to stifle free speech when he appealed for a cessation of Kennedy's statements about the Republican Administration's dangerous delusions in international affairs. As the Nation put it: "To imply that criticism of American foreign policy in the course of a Presidential election is to be avoided because it will 'encourage Chairman Khrushchev and his fellow-dictators' is to exhibit the same contempt for the democratic process and the intelligence and good sense of American voters that has characterized the Vice President's political career from the outset."

SIXTH, Kennedy is a good deal further advanced than Nixon in respect to progressive domestic legislation, especially as demonstrated in his battles for Federal laws to guarantee adequate protection in old age, high standards of health, a decent minimum wage, good housing, and to depressed areas, and labor's rights. It was an excellent idea for Chester Bowles, chairman of the Democratic Platform Committee, and his associates, to re-state in the platform the eight main goals in the Economic Bill of Rights that President Franklin Roosevelt suggested to the American people in 1944. The Platform brings those goals up to date, and there is every reason to believe that Senator Kennedy sincerely supports them.

SEVENTH, since everybody, including the Republicans, knows that the new House and Senate will be strongly Democratic, it will certainly increase the effectiveness of the national government for the American people to elect a Chief Executive—in this case, Mr. Kennedy—who will belong to the same political party as the majorities of the two houses of Congress.

EIGHTH, it follows from point seven that Kennedy as President would have a greater chance than Nixon of controlling the Dixiecrats in the Democratic Party and implementing, through legislation and executive action, the commitments in both party platforms on civil rights for Negroes.

While Governor Rockefeller pressured the Republicans into accepting a much improved plank on this subject, we must remember that even so the NAACP declared: "The Democratic plank is stronger and more comprehensive and does not shrink from the touchy topics of FEPC and the Title III provision which was chopped from the 1957 civil rights bill." Title III, which Kennedy supported in the Senate, would have given the U.S. Attorney General power to issue an injunction against actions violative of civil rights.

NINTH, voters ought not to oppose Kennedy because he is a member of the Catholic Church. To raise the Catholic issue against him is to be guilty of religious bigotry and to put into effect the abhorrent principle of guilt by association, a reactionary doctrine dear to the heart of the late Joe McCarthy. Kennedy has made it abundantly clear that he supports the First Amendment's directive for separation of church and state, and that he will not permit possible Catholic ecclesiastical pressures to sway his programs and actions as President of the United States.

In opposition to the Vice President, Kennedy has repeatedly stated that the Chinese offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu are strategically indefensible, that the U.S. and Chinese Nationalists should relinquish them, and that the American line of defense in the Far East should be drawn at Formosa. He added, furthermore, that Nixon's stand "on principle" to defend the two tiny isles would make him a "trigger-happy" President and might "involve American boys in an unnecessary and futile war." When we recall the tense American-Chinese crisis that erupted in the summer of 1958 over Quemoy and Matsu, we see that Kennedy is hitting Nixon hard on the important peace issue. It is significant that commentator Walter Lippmann is also opposed to Nixon on this question.

TENTH, the complete character of a man who is running for public office is never wholly expressed in his speeches, statements and interviews. As a personality Kennedy seems to me warm, sincere and possessed of a first-rate mind, whereas Nixon seems cold, calculating and encumbered by a fourth-rate mind. The TV debates between the two candidates have brought out these points to some degree. Plainly a more broadly educated individual than Nixon, Kennedy has displayed a mental alertness and grasp of fact that leave Nixon always desperately trying to catch up. If Kennedy goes to the White House, the very quality of his mind will make him flexible and educable. It would be a great thing for America to have as President, for a change, a person who can do his own thinking, and do it well.

I see nothing in Nixon that raises him above the level of an Alf Landon. He is not even up to the level of Tom Dewey, whom the American people wisely rejected twice for President. It is quite understandable why the Hearst newspapers, ever on the side of reaction, have endorsed Nixon. The Vice President's mentality is far inferior to that of his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was my classmate in the Harvard Class of 1924 and has been a friend ever since. Lodge has genuine capacities, but he has woefully misused them to advance U.S. cold war policies and to cover up for the colossal mistakes of the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration. In spite of personal sentiment, I must say that I prefer Senator Lyndon Johnson for Vice President.

My recommendation, then, is that progressives resist the "neither-nor" impulse on Election Day and cast a ballot for the Kennedy-Johnson ticket. I go further than the Nation, which in its Oct. 15 issue half-heartedly comes out for the election of Kennedy, primarily as a protest against Nixon. I believe that Senator Kennedy, despite grave faults, has demonstrated positive qualities of intelligence, integrity and dynamic ability that will make him a better than average President. He represents not merely a lesser evil of this campaign, but also in some measure the greater good.

WHERE THE CANDIDATES STAND: IV—LABOR

Nixon and Kennedy: What unions can expect

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent
WASHINGTON

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, its top candidates and its Congressional delegation are solidly and consistently anti-labor. The Democratic Party and its candidates are split on the issue.

Both Nixon and Lodge in 1947 voted to override Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley law. Only 11 Republicans in the House supported the veto, while 225 voted against it. In the Senate 48 Republicans voted for Taft-Hartley and only three against. Nixon was a member of the House Labor Committee that initiated the Taft-Hartley reversal of the New Deal Wagner Act and he fought for its passage as a "bill of rights" for American workers. Two years later an attempt to repeal the law was countered by an even stronger anti-labor proposal by Democratic Rep. John Wood of Georgia. Nixon was extremely active in support of the Wood Bill, and his fellow Republicans in the House backed him 147 to 18. Nixon's slogan in these debates was "smash the labor bosses."

BROKE THE TIE: Nixon brought his anti-labor record up to date during the Senate debate on the Kennedy-Ervin labor "reform" bill in 1959. Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.), chairman of the Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, on April 22, 1959, offered a "Bill of Rights" amendment very damaging to unions. On the key vote, the Senate tied and Nixon cast the deciding vote for the McClellan amendment. Only two Republican Senators voted against it.

On Aug. 13, 1959, the House adopted the Landrum-Griffin bill, the most drastic of the pending labor control bills, by 229 to 201. Just prior to the vote President Eisenhower made a nationwide TV and radio speech appealing for its passage. Nixon lobbied for it at special breakfast sessions with key House Republicans. The result—only 17 Republicans supported labor, while 134 Republicans voted for the bill.

The Republican Party platform for 1960 expresses support of "free collective bargaining," notes the need "to strengthen the hand of the President" in national emergency strikes and calls for support and "diligent administration" of the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin laws.

THE KENNEDY LINE: As a freshman Congressman in 1947, Kennedy voted consistently against the Taft-Hartley law. In the Senate, his running mate Lyndon Johnson voted with equal consistency for the law. Today Johnson still boasts of his vote for the Taft-Hartley bill. In 1949 Kennedy voted against the Wood bill to toughen the T-H law. On these early labor issues Kennedy's votes were directly opposite those of Nixon.

In the Taft-Hartley debate Kennedy took what his campaign biographer Prof. James McGregor Burns calls a "middle of the road approach." As a member of the House Labor Committee writing the labor law in 1947, Kennedy was clearly not a champion of labor. Although he signed the Committee minority report against the Taft-Hartley law, he issued his own supplementary minority report which revealed the main outlines of his approach to labor relations as they were later to be developed in the passage of the 1959 Kennedy - Landrum - Griffin Bill. Kennedy's report said:

"Management has been selfish. Labor has been selfish . . . If repressive and vindictive labor legislation is enacted at the behest of management, a tide of left-wing reaction will develop, which may well destroy our existing business system. At the same time if labor continues to insist on special privilege and unfair advantage in its relations with management, I have grave doubts as to the future of the trade union movement . . . Legislation is needed . . ."

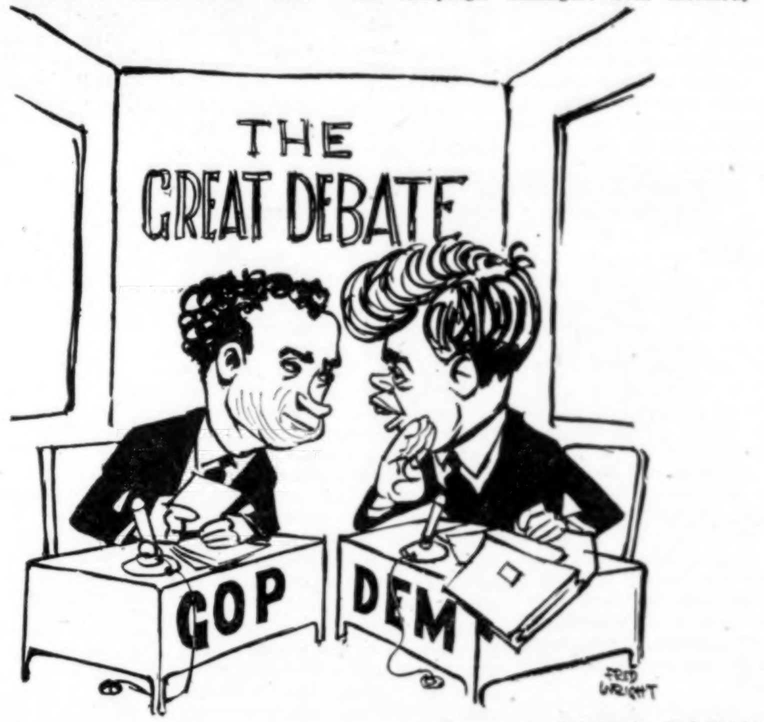
Kennedy repeated this line in a House speech on April 17, 1947, opposing the Hartley bill but calling for legislation against the "powerful unions . . . [which] in their irresponsibility have been guilty of excesses . . ." He declared that labor's fundamental rights, which he supports, can be kept only if "some method is worked out to deal with strikes which cripple the nation's industrial power . . ." He proposed a law making such strikes illegal, to be enforced by the Supreme Court through injunctions and declaring the Norris-La Guardia Anti - Injunction Act inapplicable.

TEAMED WITH NIXON: Kennedy's position on labor has been consistent. He sees himself as a sort of "Third Force" standing between the "excesses" of labor and management; he advocates government regulation and control of internal affairs of unions; he believes that the right to strike should be curbed by government, and he is above all fearful of and hostile to what he calls "the radicals in our unions who preach the doctrine of the class struggle."

Kennedy joined with Nixon during their first weeks in Congress in 1947 to put these views into practical effect as he helped lead the assault on the UAW-CIO leaders of the bitter Milwaukee strike against the Allis Chalmers Corp. The result was the union's complete defeat in the strike, the discharge of the main strike leaders, and the jailing of the local union president, Harold Christoffel.

In 1959 Congress passed the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill which the AFL-CIO condemned as "designed to destroy organized labor." Only Senators Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and William Langer (R-N.D.) voted against it. In the House the vote was 352 to 52. The first major action taken under the law came this month when Secy. of Labor James Mitchell moved to upset the election of president Joe Curran and 72 other officers of the Natl. Maritime Union. The suit charges that the NMU had not followed election procedures set up in the section of the law drafted by Sen. Kennedy.

KENNEDY'S ROLE: Kennedy played the major role in the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin law. Some people say that Kennedy is to be given pro-labor credit for having kept the law from being harder on organized labor, as do AFL-CIO president George Meany, UAW president Walter Reuther, Steelworkers president David McDonald and others; others charge Kennedy with responsibility for the enactment of major anti-labor legislation, as do Sen. Morse and labor union chiefs such as Al J. Hayes of the Machinists, Curran of the NMU, Mike Quill of the Transport Workers, James Hoffa of the Teamsters, Harry Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremen, and Albert Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"I misplaced my opening remarks . . . may I please borrow half of yours?"

As the AFL-CIO puts it: "The new restrictions on traditional trade union activities were sold to the public under a fraudulent label: anti-corruption legislation." The main instrument of this "fraudulent label" were the three years of hearings conducted by the McClellan Committee of the Senate. Committee counsel and chief of staff was Robert Kennedy, brother of the Senator, now his campaign manager. Sen. Kennedy was an active member of the McClellan Committee.

The committee's first annual report was prepared by Robert Kennedy and issued March 25, 1958. AFL-CIO president Meany called it "a disgraceful example of sensationalism in an attempt to smear the trade union movement . . . Anti-labor bias is inherent in the broad unsubstantiated charges the committee hurls at the entire labor movement . . . the committee has gratuitously insulted the entire labor movement."

Committee member Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) issued a minority report castigating the majority report as anti-labor and then resigned. Sen. Kennedy signed the majority report, indicated no reservations or differences, and continued to serve.

ABSOLVED FROM BLAME: When the Senate debated the Kennedy-Ervin Bill in April, 1959, it adopted 35 amendments, most of them anti-labor. Some of the worst amendments advanced by the McClellan-Goldwater forces were defeated by the opposition of Sen. Kennedy and most Northern Democrats. For example, on April 24 Sen. McClellan proposed an amendment to outlaw almost all secondary boycotts, thus preventing unions from asking other producers or consumers not to handle products of an employer unfair to labor. This was defeated 50 to 41, with 16 Democrats and 25 Republican Senators voting against labor, 43 Democrats and 7 Republicans voting for labor's position. Sen. Kennedy led the fight against the amendment and the party division was typical.

When the Senate and House conference met to reconcile the differences between the Senate's Kennedy Bill and the tougher House Landrum-Griffin Bill, the AFL-CIO credits Sen. Kennedy and other "liberal" conferees with gaining concessions favorable to labor. In the view of Meany this absolves Kennedy from blame for favoring final passage of the bill.

Many other trade union leaders, both in and out of the AFL-CIO, took the position that Sen. Kennedy had betrayed the labor movement. For example, Joe Curran charged that "John Kennedy is one of the most glaring examples of fair-weather liberal. Kennedy sat in on many of the most vicious jobs done on the labor movement. He endorsed and voted for the oppressive bill that came out."

ANOTHER VIEW: On Aug. 3, 1959, Sen. Kennedy called Sen. Morse the "most distinguished labor law expert in the Senate." In September, 1959, Sen. Morse, who was one of the Senate conferees on the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill, prepared a TV broadcast for national distribution in which he charged that the "man most responsible for this bill in its final form is Kennedy."

He spelled out in detail how Sen. Kennedy voted with the Republicans against seven specific motions by Morse to defeat anti-labor provisions. Sen. Morse concluded: "The fact is the Senator from Massachusetts surrendered labor's rights, and the ugly fact is that the Senator's course of action in the Senate means he was willing to compromise on these issues for Southern delegates in the Democratic convention. Kennedy played Presidential politics with the rights of free labor in the United States."

Harry Bridges on July 25, 1960, charged that "there is a deal between Kennedy and the labor brass. They would back his anti-labor bill and support him for President—if he would promise to go easy on AFL-CIO unions and use the edge of the anti-labor law against ILWU and the Teamsters." Campaigning in Salt Lake City in September, Sen. Kennedy said: "An effective Attorney General under present Federal law could remove James Hoffa as head of the Teamsters Union and depose Harry Bridges as boss of the Longshoremen." The ILWU Executive Board has asked: "Are we to have a fifth Bridges case?" Earlier, in his first TV debate with Nixon, Kennedy said that he "could not be satisfied so long as James Hoffa is free." At the 25th UE Convention, president Fitzgerald blasted Kennedy's use of his political position to aid AFL-CIO efforts to destroy the UE, and predicted he would use his power as President to help the AFL-CIO attempt to crush all independent unions.

KENNEDY'S MATE: The Democratic platform pledges "the restoration of full support for collective bargaining and the repeal of the anti-labor excesses which have been written into our labor laws." The Taft-Hartley Act is opposed and the Republicans are blamed for turning the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin act "into a means of restricting the legitimate rights of the vast majority of working men and women in honest labor unions."

Despite the platform, the convention approved the selection by Kennedy of Johnson as his running mate. On Aug. 22, 1959, Johnson wrote his constituents in Texas describing his labor record:

"Throughout my public life, I have favored strong, effective regulatory legislation to protect Americans from improper labor practices, having voted for the Vinson Bill, the Smith-Connally Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and in the last two instances, having voted to override a Democratic President to make these measures law. As leader of the Senate, I asked the Democratic 84th Congress to create the McClellan Committee and give it ample funds to conduct its investigations. I recommended Sen. McClellan for the post of chairman of the committee . . . I am attaching a statement of Sen. Goldwater of Arizona in which he makes his analysis of the Senate-passed bill, the Landrum-Griffin bill. In some respects the Senate bill is stronger, and in other respects the House bill is stronger."

BOOKS

The Child Buyer

JOHN HERSEY is one of the best-intentioned writers in the world. He is against war, witch-hunts and the inhuman use of human beings. In his latest novel* he has turned his guns on education—theory, practice and verbiage. He believes that American children are in danger of becoming objects, if not victims, of pseudo-philosophies of learning that serve corporate and state interests to the detriment of the individual or people as a whole. The intellectual and psychological corruption that must take place before business and "nation" will be satisfied is dramatized in this book, a kind of satiric fantasy in dialogue with a dash of science fiction.

The book's subtitle describes its form: "A Novel in the Form of Hearings before the Standing Committee on Education, Welfare, and Public Morality of a certain State Senate, Investigating the conspiracy of Mr. Wissey Jones with others, to Purchase a Male Child" (The capitalization or lack of it is deliberately antiqued.) But the wording is deceptive as to the drift of events. Almost from the outset the committee is out to get the few townspeople and teachers or the Pequot school system who have resisted the scheme to turn an extraordinarily gifted 10-year-old boy into a sterile mechanical brain for a corporation's 50-year defense project. These good folks are worn down in four days of sessions and by the bribes and wiles of the vice president of United Lymphomilloid; while the boy himself, Barry Rudd, finally consents to his own purchase and virtual annihilation.

ON THE WAY to this dismal end, Hersey plucks a few minor themes for admiration or amusement. His counsel for the committee, his senators and helpful witnesses are take-offs on their pompous, moronic and philistine equivalents in real life; but his portrayal of rugged New England forthrightness is respectful to the point of caricature.

The trouble is that Hersey's satirical imagination is too wobbly for his subject. His investigators, PTA ladies and guidance directors are not as effective as any good night club entertainers. When he fastens on some typical bit of national idiocy, he drains the spirit out of his joke with repetition. Even a child's garbling of words and phrases is driven to the limit of diminishing returns. He weighs down his characterizations with such a mass of unimportant details that his people can hardly lift their feet off the ground when they are called upon to do something. Instead of Kafka's phantasmagoric clarity we get an exercise in facsimile.

The ineffective imagery of Hersey's novel, **The War Lover,** also disfigures this one. The dislike of schoolchildren for an aggressive boy becomes "prejudice . . . you can smell it in the room, it's strong as store cheese." The face of the pathetic hero, Barry, is a "pale circle of paste." He tosses Latin phrases like brickbats at his tormentors—in all innocence, of course. Contrivance dogs every speech.

HERSEY'S OBSESSION with documentary build-up boxes him in, in a more crucial respect as well. Having instilled so much granite into his sturdy Yankee witnesses (the weaker ones are already forsworn and therefore of little interest to us), he is hard put to account for their sudden surrender to Jones. So he arranges that one should succumb for $8,534, and another sacrifice her pupil in order to bet on his impossible resurrection.

JOHN HERSEY
The target is education

Barry's mother has also collapsed during a hoodlum attack on her home organized by the child buyer to terrify her into giving up her son. We last see her as a genteel, tamed creature, frightened of her "animal self" and its unconstrained love and rage. In this instance only do we get a glimpse of what Hersey might have done. Standing alone, though, in the midst of purely symbolic falls of valor, her pitiful story emerges like an inconsistent tour de force.

In the Swiss writer, Friedrich Duerrenmatt's tragi-comic play, **The Visit,** which Hersey's novel calls to mind, the audience watches how an entire town is brought to its knees and made accomplice to a murder by the threat of poverty and the promise of employment. The material factor is present in Hersey, but he handles it like a prop rather than as the moving force behind his characters' decisions. His book is therefore more arbitrary, more innocent and more depressing than Duerrenmatt's work. Or, one might say, it is more idealistic.

—Charles Humboldt

* *THE CHILD BUYER, by John Hersey. Alfred A. Knopf. 258 pp. $4.*

More Mailbag

Lost vote

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

If, as Stevenson says, the question of the election is war or peace, the Democratic standard bearer puzzles me deeply. I have not heard one peep out of him for peace. If only he came through as some Britishers do for "Jaw, jaw, jaw, but no war, war, war" he might still get my vote, but as of now, he has lost me.

Eunice Pringle

An elector

CIRCLE, MONT.

I have been chosen as one of the four Presidential electors of the Socialist Workers Party in Montana.

With the distinction between old party candidates at the lowest point in the history of this nation, it would seem propitious for a large socialist vote.

Hobart McKean

Only choice

SAUGUS, CALIF.

Dr. Du Bois is right: Our only choice lies in electing some honest Congressmen. The two old parties, reeking with corruption, can only be defeated by the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party including minority groups.

John Hoffman

The Roosevelt days

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Oh, for the days of Fireside Chats when men were men and Roosevelt proved it.

David Seidman

New light on China

GLENDALE, CALIF.

I was somewhat disappointed at John Roberts' report (GUARDIAN, Aug. 29) giving such emphasis to the elements of conflict in the August sessions of the Sixth World Conference Against A and H Bombs in Toyko.

As one of the American delegates, I felt there was far more to be noted on the constructive side than his report indicated. We Americans need to learn that until the Chinese Peoples' Republic is admitted into the family of nations officially (UN), we, not China, widen the gulf between East and West, between socialist and capitalist systems. I, too, was deeply disturbed at the belligerency of China and the overtones of accepting hydrogen war as a probability, but I would remind myself and your readers that history indicates that oppressed people anywhere will die (even, I fear, by atomic explosions) rather than endure a misery they know is man-made and unnecessary. It is not enough to regret the splits or conflicts or militancy of the Chinese people today. Senator Goldwater's thinly-veiled plea for the U.S. to send the Marines into Cuba does not make Peking less militant and we Americans can do something about our policy on Cuba.

I am for total nuclear disarmament because I do not want China, or Japan, or ourselves to have to find out who might survive an atomic world war. But rather than emphasize the intransigence of the Chinese at the Tokyo conference, I prefer to recall that the head of Peking's delegation, Mr. Liu Ning I, said: "We urgently need a peaceful environment. We do not want war, nor do we permit others to impose war upon us. We shall strive for the defense of peace and for the realization of peaceful co-existence among nations of differing social systems."

We Americans must contribute to this co-existence. I think it begins in Havana and Guatemala City and places closer than Moscow or Peking. Only as our deeds are seen abroad can we make international peace conferences broader, more inclusive, more productive. I could have wished Mr. Roberts had included this emphasis in his report.

Stephen Fritchman

Standing up to K

BRONX, N.Y.

Nixon has been claiming that he is better qualified than Kennedy to "stand up to" Khrushchev. Kennedy, naturally, strongly disputes this claim. How is the public to judge the matter? How better than to have had Nixon and Kennedy actually confront Khrushchev in a television program?

This suggestion is offered in all seriousness and in the conviction that, in the public interest, every effort should have been made for such a confrontation.

G. H. Phillips

The devil and . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Nixon
Or Kennedy—
Between the Devil
And the Holy See.

L. G.

End result

JENKINS, MINN.

It is true that we have two sets of windbags contending for participation in dictatorship and legalized loot, but our so-called election has long ago been decided. If we had to vote for either Satan or Lucifer, we would find that we had elected the Devil and we'd get what we voted for—Hell.

Robert Scherlie

NEW YORK

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AUSPICES: New York Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party

It happened in Chicago

On the eve of a Madison Square Garden rally by the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy last May, the Senate Internal Security subcommittee subpenaed Henry Abrams, one of the rally's organizers. Abrams was questioned by Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) on his political beliefs and associations, but he refused to cooperate.

SANE co-chairman Norman Cousins later testified voluntarily, and, according to Dodd, agreed to cooperate in ridding SANE of "communists." The SANE national board supported Cousins. Nevertheless, Dodd attacked SANE in a Senate speech for its hospitality to "communists" and its position on disarmament.

SANE has been in internal conflict ever since. The organization has not weakened its stand on disarmament and bomb testing, but many members are critical of the board's lack of willingness to denounce the witch-hunt. Some leading members have resigned, including Robert Gilmore of the American Friends Service Committee, who was chairman of SANE's executive committee.

On Oct. 14-16, the annual SANE National Conference was held in Chicago. The conference, composed of delegates from chapters around the country, serves only as an advisory group to the national board. The board, which is not elected, sets policy.

Many came to the conference hoping to persuade the board to toughen its stand against outside attack. Dr. Linus Pauling, who had just defeated Dodd's efforts to make him an informer, was critical of SANE's stand in a speech at a public rally.

Much of the floor discussion centered on this issue. In the end, the conference gave a vote of confidence to the board, after Cousins assured members that their opinion would weigh heavily in future decisions.

In a unanimous resolution the conference reiterated its stand for cessation of bomb testing, total disarmament and admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN and its inclusion in disarmament talks.

Following is an impression of the Chicago conference written by a participant.

Special to the Guardian

CHICAGO

HOVERING OVER the National Committee meeting was a familiar ghost—that of the never-lamented senator who gave his name to a decade and to a way of thinking that many believed had died with him. Instead of Joe's leer, this ghost had a somewhat benign expression, misleading at first sight. But it was Joe's ghost all right, old face or new.

Much of the discussion in Chicago sounded frighteningly familiar: it could have been the ACLU or any one of a dozen organizations debating the ever-recurring question as to whether it was better to throw out the left-wingers and split the group, or invite the wrath of Jehovah and perhaps all burn together. The feeling of entrapment was the same, the indignation was the same, and so was the search for a compromise that would not spell surrender.

Indeed the final "compromise" worked out by the Committee on Resolutions (heavily weighted with representatives of the National Board) read much like other resolutions that have made us weep. Through the grace of God and the stubborn courage of sufficient delegates, this resolution, which implied the immediate death of SANE as a representative organization, went down to defeat. The final resolution consisted of only the first part of the original three-pronged measure. The second — and most objectionable —

clause of the original resolution, which declared communists and (bad joke!) fascists persona non grata "at any level of the organization," was tabled, and may or may not be discussed again at next year's meeting. The emasculated resolution was accepted by Norman Cousins, tongue in cheek, as a vote of confidence in the Board.

SO NO ONE WAS HAPPY, excepting, of course, Senator Dodd. Even before the delegates had assembled, he had maneuvered SANE into an impossible position, and he knew it and everyone in that conference room in Chicago knew it. When the National Board issued its May 26 statement, disowning left-wingers in the organization, they at once put themselves on the defensive, and Dodd is not the man to let such an advantage slip. His attack on Henry Abrams before the Madison Square Garden meeting was in the nature of a probing operation. When SANE elected to throw Abrams to the wolves (and, despite protests, that is what happened); the Senator knew how far he could go, which probably is as far as even he would wish. The 38 subpenas, the branding of the Madison Square Garden meeting as "a coup for the Kremlin," the harassment of Dr. Pauling—all were the inevitable consequences of the first retreat and, as Norman Cousins himself said, "a feeble prelude to worse things ahead."

DOES COUSINS REALIZE what was obvious to so many people in Chicago—that he himself will be the ultimate target of his one-time friend and fellow World Federalist? By now he very probably does; he is an astute and knowledgeable man. But of course it is not Cousins that Dodd is really after, much less the 38 subpenaed SANE leaders or Henry Abrams. Dodd, Edward Teller and their friends were not concerned about Abrams. What had evoked their deep concern was the expanding power and appeal of the only effective peace movement in the country. Thanks to the inevitable eroding process of small surrenders, that movement is now rent by a division whose depth it is too early to judge. If sufficiently profound, another movement may spring to life in six months' time, a movement open to all. In a nation of 180 million who face the threat of imminent annihilation, there surely is room for a second peace movement. To quote the words of Linus Pauling, its natural leader:

"The cause of peace is inseparable from the cause of Civil Liberties."

—Scorpio

The Pauling story

(Continued from Page 1)

ing in advance and had insisted that it be an open one, told Dodd that the petition was public information and was on file at the UN. He agreed to turn over the names of the signers as well as a list of people he had asked for help, because they bore no responsibility for receiving his letter.

But he refused "as a matter of conscience, as a matter of morality, as a matter of justice" to submit the names of those who had actually worked on the petition. He said: "I am convinced the names would be used for reprisals against these enthusiastic, idealistic, high-minded workers for peace. I am responsible for my actions. My conscience will not allow me to protect myself by sacrificing these idealistic young people. I am not going to do it."

WIDE SUPPORT: Dodd cut off Pauling with an order to reappear with the names. But Pauling would not be silenced. He began his own campaign (at his own expense) against the committee. He

Walt Partymiller, York Gazette Daily

Rare courage

spoke at meetings across the country reaffirming his refusal to become an informer and denouncing the committee for its evil purpose.

Pauling took an ad in the Washington **Post** calling for the committee's abolition, as well as abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. He accused Dodd of misusing his authority to attempt to silence those who advocate a bomb test suspension and disarmament.

Pauling also sought a court injunction against the committee, but he lost in the lower courts. The matter is now before the Supreme Court, which is not likely to rule since the committee's failure to move for a contempt citation makes most of Pauling's legal arguments moot.

Pauling's stand won wide support. Editorials in his favor appeared in the Washington **Post**, New York **Times**, San Francisco **Chronicle**, Detroit **Free Press**, St. Louis **Post-Dispatch**, Portland **Oregonian**, Winston-Salem **Journal**, Honolulu **Advertiser**, Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette** and the Hartford **Times**.

OTHER ACTIONS: About 150 persons signed ads endorsing Pauling's position in the N.Y. **Times**, Washington **Post** and Hartford **Courant**, placed by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Signers included Prof. Henry Commager, Dr. Stringfellow Barr, Prof. R. P. Blackmur, Dr. Edward U. Condon, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Prof. Robert J. Havinghurst, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Dr. Scott Keyes, Dr. Harold C. Urey and Dr. H. H. Wilson.

The New York **Times** (Oct. 11) published a letter supporting Pauling signed by 41 faculty members at Rutgers University, including the entire faculty of the Law School. The letter said: "Any unnecessary harassment by governmental authority accomplished through implicit insinuation that those who urge the world powers to discontinue nuclear bomb testing are conspirators against United States security tends to remove this issue as a subject of public debate and thus interferes with the freedom of speech of citizens of the United States."

The annual meeting of the Society for Social Responsibility in Science passed a resolution calling for a "stop to such harassment for expression of opinion lest our country succumb increasingly to totalitarian methods."

LOW COMEDY: The Oct. 11 hearing had many moments of comic opera. Although the committee knew Pauling's position in advance and undoubtedly had come to a decision not to move for a contempt citation, Dodd and committee counsel J. G. Sourwine dragged the hearing through the day. Dodd opened with a 12-page statement, which he quit reading at page 6 and inserted in the record. He said that Pauling was not on trial and no witness need fear "opprobrium because he is called to testify before this committee." He pointed out that J. Edgar Hoover and Central Intelligence Agency director Allen Dulles had been witnesses with no tarnish to their reputations.

Pauling turned over the signed petitions in red-leather bound volumes in which he had hand-numbered the pages. But as for the list of those who had helped gather the signatures he said: "I am unwilling to subject these persons to reprisals by this committee. I could protect myself by agreeing, but I am fighting for other persons who could not make a fight for themselves."

Dodd accepted Pauling's statement without argument and turned over the questioning to Sourwine, who went over the list of petition signers. Was Pauling aware, Sourwine asked, that among the signers from the U.S.S.R. were "known Communists?" Did he know that Prof. Yakawa of Japan had been awarded the Lenin Peace prize? Pauling said he was aware only that Prof. Yakawa had won the Nobel prize.

Did Pauling know that Martin Kamen, an American signer, had been accused by the House Un-American Activities Committee of passing classified information to Soviet agents in Bernstein's Fish Grotto in San Francisco during World War II? Pauling remembered that Kamen had won a libel suit against a Chicago paper that had printed the story.

SHARP TALK: Pauling recalled with open delight that he had picketed the Un-American Committee hearings in San Francisco last spring. He apologized for not having more time to spend working for Morton Sobell's freedom. He confirmed his opposition to the McCarran Act and his desire to see the Smith Act repealed. Pauling also bemoaned the passing of the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

As a clincher, Sourwine asked if he had ever helped a non-communist. Pauling replied: "I made a statement urging that Gerald L. K. Smith be allowed to speak and I feel reasonably sure that he is not a communist."

Having read Pauling's dossier into the record, the hearing adjourned, Pauling was released from subpena. Dodd went up to Pauling to confirm that it hadn't been such a strain, had it?

Pauling cannot be cited for contempt unless he is recalled and "directed" to produce the names. Dodd did not so direct him at the hearing and thus avoided the legal ground for a contempt citation. The New York **Times** (Oct. 16) speculated that "the committee does not want to be in a position of prosecuting the Nobel Prize winner, who commands a good deal of public sympathy and support."

Pauling to speak at N.Y. SANE meeting on Oct. 24

DR. LINUS PAULING will speak on world disarmament at the Hotel Commodore on Oct. 24 at 8 p.m. The meeting is in commemoration of United Nations Day and is sponsored by the Greater New York Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy.

Pauling, the nation's foremost peace advocate, was awarded the Nobel Prize for chemistry in 1953. He also holds the Presidential Medal of Merit. He is a professor of chemistry at California Institute of Technology.

Comedian Milt Kamen and Cynthia Gooding, folk singer, will entertain. General admission is $2, reserved section, $5, and student tickets, $1. Tickets may be obtained from SANE, 17 E. 45th St., N.Y.C. OX 7-2265.

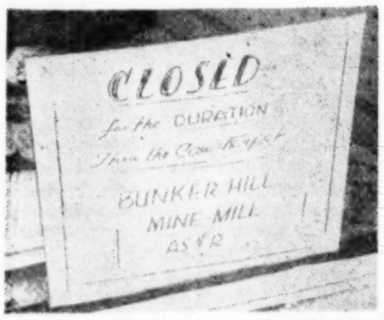
TODAY'S BATTLE OF COEUR D'ALENE

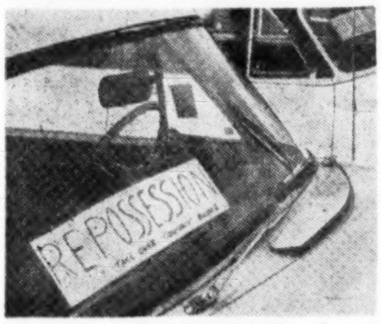
Hardrock miners fight for union's life at spot where it was born

COEUR D'ALENE is a name that has stood for more than half a century with Homestead and Haymarket as a symbol in labor history. It is the name of a mineral-rich mountain range in Idaho in which miners' blood is also buried, shed in the early struggles to organize unions.

In 1892 Coeur d'Alene silver miners went on strike after the Bunker Hill Co. reduced wages $1 a day. Mine operators brought in an army of thugs, who fought a pitched battle with the strikers. The strikers won and seized the mines. The Idaho governor declared martial law and President Benjamin Harrison ordered out the U.S. army.

Twelve hundred union men were arrested without warrants and held for months in a barbed wire bull pen. Many died while their families starved. Eighty-five strikers were indicted for contempt of court; 12 were convicted. The army ruled that mine owners could not hire union men and strikers were blacklisted everywhere.





THE GOING IS ROUGH IN THE COEUR D'ALENE STRIKE
This store went out of business . . . Strikers' cars are repossessed

FIGHT GOES ON: While imprisoned, the strikers agreed on uniting all mine unions in the West. On their release in 1893, they formed the Western Federation of Miners, headed by Big Bill Haywood. Hundreds of miners were jailed and many were killed before the union was established. In time the Federation became the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and continued its militant tradition. The union was expelled from the CIO in 1949 for refusing to knuckle under to the top leadership's cold war policies.

A union thus formed is not easily broken, but the mine operators have never given up trying. Today Bunker Hill and American Smelting & Refining, with assists from local officials, are trying to starve 2,200 miners into submission after six months on strike. With the coming of winter in an area that often hits 30 degrees below zero, the companies could succeed if the strikers don't get help.

Seventeen hundred miners, members of Mine-Mill Local 18, walked out of Bunker Hill mines on May 5 after a year of fruitless negotiations. They were joined by 500 miners at AS&R on May 25. In both cases the issues were the same.

SOLIDARITY: The contract had expired on June 30, 1959, but the union continued negotiations to avert a strike and in the expectation that a final settlement would be retroactive. Negotiations broke down after the union had reduced its demands to those already granted by 90% of the non-ferrous industry, including other AS&R mines, and the companies rejected them. The union asked for an 8c-an-hour wage increase and continuation of the old contract. The companies refused to discuss wages and offered changes which would weaken the union's authority.

Soon after the strike a company-inspired red-baiting attack opened against the union in Kellogg, where most of the miners lived. "Community" organizations such as the Shoshone County Anti-Communist League, the Common Sense Council and I Am An American Youth attacked the union and urged the strikers to return to work.

But the strikers were not taken in; they stayed out and their morale continued high. Other Mine-Mill locals and other unions sent money and food.

STARVE 'EM OUT: After four months the companies got tougher. A "Northwest Metal Miners" union appeared and urged the strikers back. But it has not taken hold. AS&R manager J. C. Kieffer sent the strikers a letter last month urging them to "show guts" and "get back to work" through the picket lines. The appeal to scab stirred few strikers.

Idaho officials have given the companies a hand. Republican Gov. Robert E. Smylie refused to make Federal surplus food and commodities or state welfare funds available to the strikers.

Early this month the Kellogg school board cut off the children's free lunch program. The board said it would resume the lunches if the union paid for them.

Union delegations visited Idaho Senators Frank Church (D.) and Henry Dworshak (R.) and Congresswoman Gracie Pfost (D.), who agreed the situation was outrageous, but they said Federal intervention depended on an appeal by Gov. Smylie.

HELP NEEDED: On Oct. 8, the union sent telegrams to President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Sen. John F. Kennedy, Sen. Wayne Morse and the two Idaho Senators asking for "immediate personal intervention to prevent further suffering." The telegram pointed out that "12,000 American citizens [strikers and their families] have been without income or one penny of relief" for six months.

The strikers need help. They have exhausted their strike fund and the parent union is broke after last year's strike in the copper mines. The only benefits the strikers receive are a strike kitchen for single men and a grocery store which stocks up families.

In a letter to friends the strike committee asked for money and clothing, "particularly heavy coats, mackinaws for children of any age, as well as clothes for men and women."

Aid should be sent to the Coeur d'Alenes Local 18 Strike Committee, P.O. Box 929, Kellogg, Idaho.

PEOPLE'S RIGHTS PARTY GOES TOO

Socialist Labor Party off N.Y. ballot

THE CANDIDATES OF TWO independent minority parties have been forced off the New York State ballot as a result of legal actions brought by the Democratic Party machine. The petitions of Arnold Johnson and Mrs. Mildred MacAdory Edelman, running for Congress and Assembly respectively on the People's Rights Party ticket, were rejected by State Supreme Court Justice Jacob Markowitz, former chairman of the Tammany law committee. On Oct. 11 Justice Kenneth S. MacAffer disqualified the Presidential ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Workers Party will be represented on the Presidential ballot in New York, as the result of a favorable decision by Justice MacAffer. It is expected that the Socialist Labor Party will appeal the decision against its nominees, and that the Democratic State Committee will ask for a reconsideration of its unsuccessful challenge of the SWP petitions.

The New York State Chairman of the SWP, Richard Garza, attacked the decisions which will remove the candidates of two rival parties from the ballot.

Committee for Cuba meeting to be held in N.Y. Oct. 20

CARLETON BEALS, dean of Latin American correspondents, will speak on "The Truth About Cuba" Thursday, Oct. 20, 8:30 p.m., at a public meeting in Manhattan Center, 34th St. and Eighth Av., New York City. The meeting is to be held under the auspices of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Other featured speakers include I. F. Stone, noted journalist, and Leo Huberman, editor of the **Monthly Review** and co-author of **Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution.** A recent documentary film on Cuba will be shown.

BOOKS

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CALENDAR

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Jewish Peoples Forum presents: Sun., Oct. 30—**DR SCOTT NEARING,** "Can the Soviet Union & China Work Together?" Town & Country Club, Morton St., Dorchester, 11 a.m. Adm. free.

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'Nat Turner' opening In New York Oct. 27

THE ARROW PLAYERS will present **Nat Turner**, a play by Paul Peters, at the Casa Galicia, 405 W. 41st St., New York City, beginning Thursday evening, Oct. 27.

The play dramatizes the story of a slave uprising in the South before the Civil War. The playwright will be remembered as the co-author, with George Sklar, of **Stevedore.**

Featured in the cast are Richard Ward, Vinnie Burrows, Clarice Taylor and Stanley Greene.

For bookings and reservations call LO 5-9765.

GENERAL

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY on ABC Radio
Hear Farrell Dobbs, Presidential Candidate, on ABC Radio National Broadcast St., Oct. 22, 7 p.m. N.Y. time. Call your local ABC station for time of broadcast in your area.
(All comments on the Dobbs address will be welcome.)

THE GALLERY

THE MOST TELLING COMMENT on this election is that neither candidate has come up with a slogan, catch-phrase or bon mot worth repeating. Sadly it must be conceded that the saltiest oratory has come from arch conservative Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.). In Florida he referred to Sen. Lyndon Johnson as a "counterfeit Confederate." Goldwater said that when Johnson is in the West, he is a westerner, "but when he comes to Florida next week, he'll be saying 'you all' and he'll be a southerner." Before he came out for Nixon, Goldwater said: "How can Nixon claim he can stand up to Nikita Khrushchev when he can't stand up to Rockefeller?" . . . Sen. Frank Lausche (D-Ohio), who votes with the Republicans as often as he does with his own party, said in Elyria: "I never endorsed Stevenson and I may not be much of a Democrat, but I haven't gotten where I am today by not knowing which side of the bread the butter was on. I'm for Kennedy." . . . Britisher Malcolm Muggeridge, who makes a career out of pungent comment, said on Mike Wallace's TV show that the only American with popularity in England is Adlai Stevenson, "because he's got a rather European-type mind." Muggeridge expanded: "A slightly more hypocritical mind in which the real sort of baseness of politics—and it must be base; I mean it's a base pursuit—is sort of misted over in pleasant, elegant phrases and thoughts." . . . Margaret Halsey suggests in the October **Liberation** that the Republicans adopt the slogan: "Accept No Substitute! Get the **Real Nixon!**" . . . the Nixon-Kennedy TV "debate" on Oct. 13 pre-empted the time for NBC's "Outlaws."

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"It's frightening! These hands can change history."

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE in East Berlin, where he received the Silver Star of Friendship Between Nations, Paul Robeson was asked if he thought Kennedy represented "the other America." Robeson answered: "Maybe you'd better define what you mean by the other America. The other America for me is Jefferson, Lincoln, Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Kennedy is just about as dangerous as anybody else. He does not represent the Democratic Party's great traditions, but is, like Nixon, a firm supporter of NATO and he wants more bases, not fewer. He has done the American people and the world a great disservice; he wants America to be part of the destruction of the world.

"Luckily, there is great opposition to this in the United States, a movement of millions against atomic armament, led by such people as Linus Pauling."

An African reporter said he had heard there was a big "back to Africa" movement among American Negroes. Robeson said this was not so, although he said it was more accurate to refer to American Negroes as Afro-Americans. He pointed out that Negroes "are very proud of Africa and its fight today," but they helped build America and "part of America belongs to them." He concluded: "In North Carolina there's a piece of land where my father was a slave. That belongs to me and I'm going back some day and take it."

Robeson is on a six-week concert tour of Australia and will visit Africa and Cuba later.

—Robert E. Light

NOTE: A gremlin in the composing room messed up last week's Gallery. Key to unscrambling the mix-up is to transpose the first two lines of the second and third paragraphs.

LOS ANGELES

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Report On
THE MOSCOW U-2 TRIAL
Mr. Hallinan, long a student of Soviet jurisprudence, was an invited observer at the Powers trial and had several conversations with Mrs. Barbara Powers, the Soviet prosecutor and defense counsel and the defendant himself.
Chairman: Janet Stevenson
Author of "The Ardent Years" and "Weep No More"
Friday Evening, Nov. 18 8:30 P.M.
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LOS NINOS—Indian children of Arizona join hands in a ceremonial dance. Design by De Grazia, in soft, swirling full colors. Ten cards and envelopes, boxed **$1.25**

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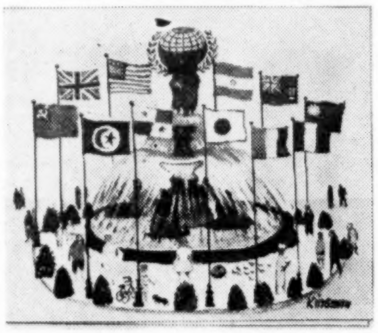

FOUNTAIN OF PEACE—A full-color card designed by Dong Kingman showing children of all nations around a UN fountain. Ten cards with matching envelopes **$1.25**

THIS season, in addition to its own delightful "Pere Noel" by Pablo Picasso, GBS is offering four different sets of the famed **UNICEF** Greeting Cards. **UNICEF**—United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund — is the only UN committee devoted exclusively to helping children in need. More than 95% of the money collected actually goes into aid. Designs for the cards are contributed by well-known artists. And as the committee reports, "one box of greeting cards will provide 100 days of vitamins for a new mother and child . . . two boxes can mean 20 children cured of yaws, or 100 protected against tuberculosis."

The four UNICEF sets shown here are all standard size, 4 5/8" x 5 3/4" cards, packed ten to a box with matching envelopes. They are made with a single fold and a star pattern on the inside page giving "Season's Greetings" in the five official languages of the UN—English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. Each is $1.25 per set, plus 15c for handling and postage.

TALES OF MANY LANDS — Five different cards, two each to a box, designed by Adolf Zabransky and depicting enduring fairy tales—**The Ugly Duckling** (Denmark), **The Legend of St. Nicholas** (Holland), **Snow White** (Brazil), **The Jade Slipper** (Korea) and **The Epic of Ramayana** (India). Ten cards and envelopes, boxed **$1.25**

PERE NOEL

The **GUARDIAN'S** own "Father Christmas" by Picasso, obtained as an exclusive last year. Reproduced in three process colors, black, brown and orange on heavy 5" x 7" cardboard stock (No Fold). Packed eight to a box with matching envelopes. .... **Just $1**
2 sets, $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets for $3, 5 sets, $3.50. Postpaid

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Open end—closed mind

OPEN END, until the evening of Oct. 9, was a Sunday night show with a considerable following among people who like late talk, televised over WNTA-TV in the New York metropolitan area. The idea is that a group of well-known people in a particular field—theater, communications media, politics—sit around informally with their host, Broadway and TV producer David Susskind, and talk about their field. There is no closing time on the program—hence its name. It usually begins at 10 p.m. and sometimes goes on until after 1 a.m., as was the case when Vice President Nixon was Susskind's sole guest. The program has been sponsored by several companies which have given Susskind a free hand. One, Sutro Bros., is a New York brokerage house.

Early this month it was announced that Premier Khrushchev had been asked to come on the show Oct. 9 and, after a good deal of negotiation on the ground rules, had consented. The panel would be just Mr. S and Mr. K. The announcement created a considerable stir in TV circles since the State Department had asked the networks not to provide a "propaganda forum" for Mr. K, and the networks had all saluted: Mr. K, for one month the hottest news story in town, had not got a single bid.

Immediately Sutro Bros. refused to sponsor the Oct. 9 show, and insisted on a spot announcement dissociating itself from the Khrushchev appearance. But the reaction among the patriotic broadcasters was quite different; Susskind's scoop sent them scurrying for a chance to get in on a good thing.

More than 200 radio stations asked to carry the show; the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. wanted it live on TV; the British Broadcasting Corp. asked for a tape; Radio Moscow wanted it and got it.

The show was set up in a studio at the United Nations. Susskind and WNTA-TV decided there would be no commercials—although 15 new sponsors clamored for time—not even Sutro's disclaimer.

NOW DAVID SUSSKIND (some people ask what makes Davy run?) is the kind of a man who was described by the New York **Herald Tribune**'s TV critic John Crosby thus: "Susskind doesn't ask questions, really. First, he issues an editorial saying how foolish is the opinion his interviewer holds on the question he is about to ask. Then he asks the question, gets the opinion he has earlier deplored, and promptly disagrees with it."

Susskind applied this technique to Mr. K—after another patriotic announcement by WNTA-TV that the program was not going to be a propaganda forum for the guest—and he flopped. He forgot that the David and Goliath story may be a legend and he tried to be not only the legendary David but John Foster Dulles to boot. Except that Dulles was not nearly so rude to the head of a great state. Mr. S set up a splendid propaganda forum for Mr. K.

And there were commercials after all. The bright boys at WNTA dredged up the idea of plugging for "truth dollars" for Radio Free Europe, a cut-throat outfit dedicated to freeing the slaves of Eastern Europe. NATO was also going to get a plug. Two RFE spots (one of which showed a Red military monster smashing a radio set as a horrified couple looked on) were flashed on, and then something happened. The U.S. mission to the UN, after what was believed to be a protest from the UN itself, called the TV station and said forgodsakes cut it out! Meanwhile the station's switchboard practically exploded with calls protesting the "bad taste" of the station. (Twice on the Oct. 16 Open End, WNTA-TV apologized for the blunder.)

A note passed to Mr. K informed him of the situation, but it did not seem to disturb the good humor he had shown throughout the program. Mr. K did bristle once—when Mr. S charged him with "baying at the moon." He later suggested that Mr. S. had considerable "garbage" stored away in his head. Informants close to the Russian language suggest that in each case faulty translation caused the pique. In any case, each apologized.

FOR ALL HIS TREMULOUS FLAG-WAVING, Susskind did make the broadcasting industry look like inhabitants of a rabbit warren—a condition underscored by the convention of the Radio-Television News Directors Assn. On Oct. 9 its president said: "News is not the proper province of government and when newsmen permit government influence it marks the start of service to questionable objectives."

But a panel of newspapermen who were gathered by WNTA-TV immediately after Mr. K's appearance to detour any inroads he may have made into the American mind, for the most part had no such reservations.

They swung from a summons to war to save Free Berlin (Harry Schwartz of the New York **Times**) to attempts to pin Mr. K down onto a psychoanalyst's couch (Max Lerner and James Wechsler of the New York **Post**). Elements of sanity were introduced by two outlanders (Allen Ashbolt of the Australian Broadcasting Commission and Blair Frazer, editor of Canada's **Macleans** magazine) and Henry Shapiro, for many years United Press correspondent in Moscow. Shapiro kindly described Susskind's performance as "unprofessional."

The noblest touch was provided by Susskind himself when the Canadian asked him why he had dodged Mr. K's question as to how we would feel if a Soviet plane had been downed over New York.

Ah, said Mr. S., he could easily have answered that question but he thought it would be a—ah—disservice to this country to do so.

Which is to say that honesty too has now become unpatriotic.

—James Aronson